THOMAS AND MARY STREET BATEMAN

Revised Version

The Brickmaker and the Laundress and their Life as Mormon Pioneers.

By Kim Bateman, Spring City, Utah, May 2022

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Laundress

Bill Bryson, *At Home*, Doubleday, New York, London, p. 134.

Introduction

I am a third great grandson of Thomas and Mary Bateman through their eighth child, James Morgan Bateman. You might well ask why I am writing yet another biography of these two well-studied Latter-day Saint pioneers.

Well, the short answer is, I feel touched by the Spirit of Elijah, which as Thomas Bateman said to Brigham Young is to turn the hearts of the children to their fathers.

That doesn't make the project safe. Just look at Thomas, who got into a lot of trouble over his fascination with that prophet. If you didn't already know that about him, you'll read it here. Another reason my endeavor doesn't feel safe is that the Batemans have already written a bunch of biographies on these two people. When I tried to edit a fact on Thomas which had been entered in *Family Search*, I was warned electronically that 14 of you were watching my action and would be notified of any change. There have been 156 contributors to his file in *Family Search* just in the last several years. Of course, their contributions have been invaluable to my project. I feel especially indebted to Thomas and Mary's grandchildren Juliaetta Bateman Jensen and Mary Elizabeth Bateman Dimond, who lived close to Mary when she was alive and wrote about her from direct observation, and also to Susan Woodland Howard and Heath and Melissa Parker for their scholarly work on the Batemans, and to the many people who posted documents and writings of Samuel Bateman, our most prominent historical relative.

During the years since my retirement, I have been doing family research chiefly on my mother's lines, having inherited her trove of over 2,000 pioneer letters to work from. When she died last summer at the age of 101, I found among her papers the beginning of the biography of her father-in-law, James Robert Bateman, which my paternal grandmother Rela McMullin Bateman Beckstead had left unfinished decades ago. He is the grandfather I never knew, since he died when my father was only seven years old. Hoping to complete her project, I began looking at James Robert Bateman's ancestors for background and got completely absorbed in the larger Bateman story. So here I am. And I still haven't finished my grandfather's story.

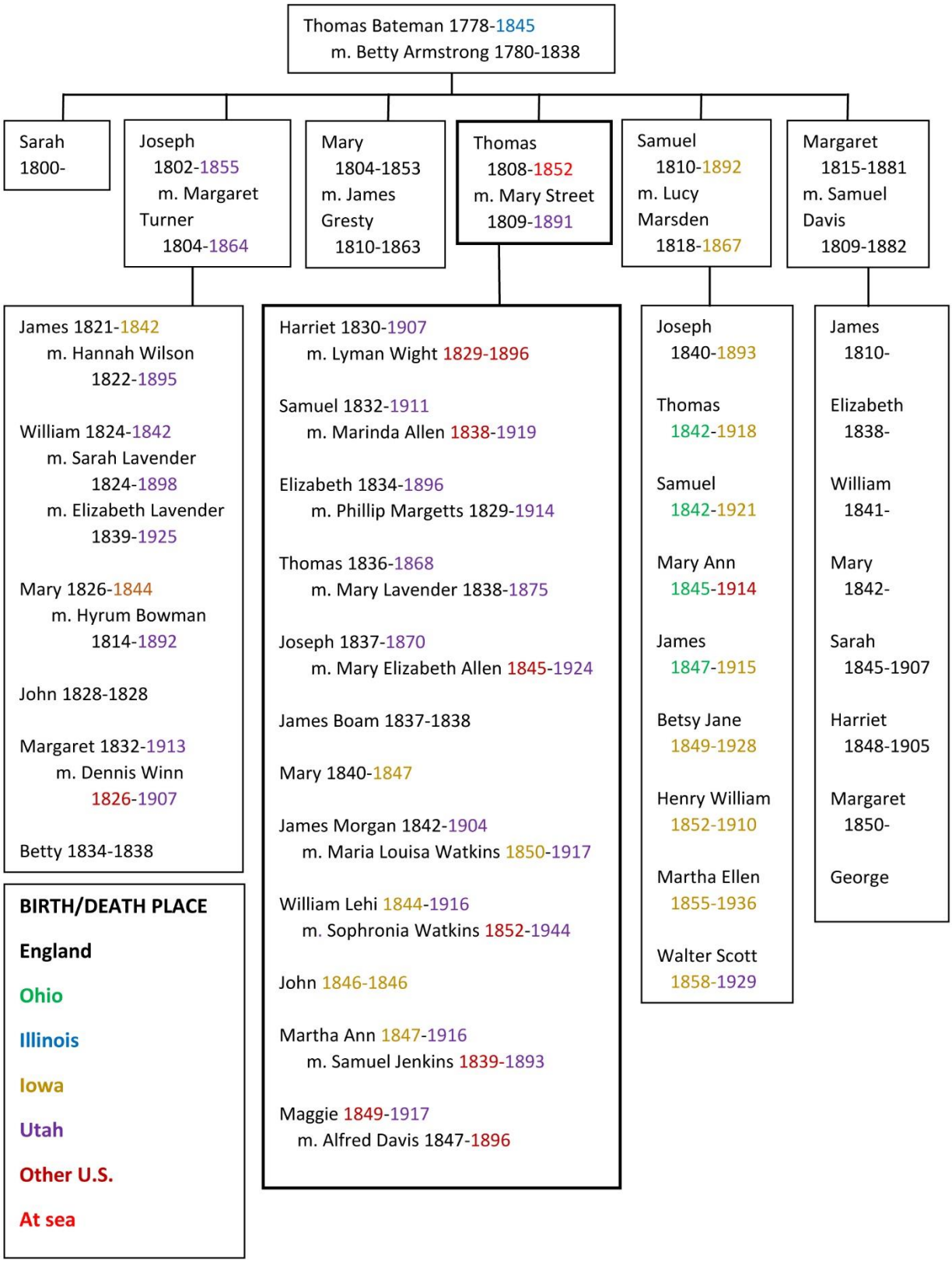
Now I'm getting to the long answer. First, as rich and interesting as the story of Thomas and Mary Bateman is, there remain many unanswered questions and the accounts of their lives are incomplete and conflicting. For example, why exactly did Thomas get cut off from the Church, and by whom? Exactly where did Mary live between 1851 and 1861? How did it happen that Thomas took a 450 mile wagon trip with John Taylor? Second, I want to place the Batemans squarely into the context of the times and places where they lived and understand better the people around them. For example, little has been written about Augusta, Iowa, where they lived a significant time. Third, I want to clear up some of the inaccuracies that I have discovered.

Speaking of inaccuracies, I am bound to introduce some myself in such an audacious undertaking, and I have taken the liberty of speculating on many of the gaps that remain in the story. While I have tried to be candid about when I am speculating, I can be blind to my own errors, which I hope you will charitably point out to me. And I am grateful that you are reading this book. As I have turned my heart to Thomas and Mary and their family, I have grown to love them more and hope the same will be true for you, the reader.

Kim Bateman, November 15, 2021. kim.bateman@gmail.com .

Mary Street Bateman by C. R. Savage, probably around 1870.
I know of no photograph of Thomas Bateman.

Bateman Family Tree



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60 mi
Inverness
Aberdeen
SCOTLAND
Dundee
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Newcastle Upon Tyne
Ballymena
Carlisle
Belfast
Lancaster
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Leeds
Hull
Bolton
Liverpool
Sheffield
Salford/Manchester
IRELAND
Nottingham
Norwich
Birmingham
ENGLAND
Ispwich
Luton
Gloucester
Swansea
Cardiff
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Chapter One: Bolton and Salford

Bolton Church

Thomas Bateman was born around 1808 in Lancashire, England. I think it is likely, but not certain, that he was born in the town of Bolton. His parents had been married there, and on the bishop's transcript of their wedding his father, a weaver, who was also named Thomas Bateman[1] and his mother, Betty Armstrong,[2] were noted on the document to be "of" the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, but he and his older siblings may have been born in Manchester. Original birth records have not been found for any of the three children. The infant Thomas Jr. had a six-year-old brother named Joseph and a four-year-old sister named Mary. Since Thomas Sr. and Betty were married twelve years earlier in 1796, it is possible, even likely, that they had other children before and in between the ones that we know of, in fact an infant named Sarah Bateman whose father was named Thomas was buried in Bolton May 4, 1800.

Thomas Jr. was born when England was at war with Napoleon and Alexander I, the Emperor of Russia, in the first year of the ban on slave trading in the British Empire. Congress had reciprocated by banning the importation of slaves to the United States, but it did not affect the American cotton industry much, since most American slaves were being sold internally—the plantation owners were breeding their own. Thomas Jefferson was finishing his second term as U.S. president and Lewis and Clark had submitted the report of their expedition into the northwestern reaches of the Louisiana Purchase.

Lancashire was the textile producing center of the world. At that time most of the cotton coming to Britain was from India, but that was quickly changing with the emergence of the American south. Bolton had produced both wool and cotton fabric since the 14th century, but its population boomed in the early 1800s when the industrial revolution began replacing watermill-based weaving with large steam-driven factories. The town is situated on the River Croal which drained the surrounding moorland and powered large fabric bleaching mills and also provided water transportation to Manchester and Bury. Bolton had a railroad for steam locomotives, one of the first in the world, which could carry passengers the ten miles to Manchester and from there to the great port of Liverpool. (See map on p. 10.)

[1] Thomas Bateman Sr. is said to be born in Manchester on April 12, 1778, although his marriage document to Betty states both were "of this parish" (Bolton). We have this exact date by family story and *Find a Grave* Index only and have no christening record although the christening date is given in some pedigrees as 20 March 1778—before the alleged birth--so at least one must be wrong. From his age shown on an international marriage record we deduce the birth year of 1778. Many pedigrees have his parents as Joseph and Elizabeth Armstrong Bateman of Manchester, but *Family Search* notes currently dispute his mother's surname of Armstrong. This also needs more study. Also, *Ancestry* and *Family Search* pedigrees identify two different Joseph Batemans as his father.

[2] Betty Armstrong is also said to be born in Manchester. The exact date is not documented, the birth year derived from her marriage record. There is an available christening record for an Elizabeth (not Betty) in Manchester, but it gives her parents as Francis Armstrong and Elizabeth Whetherog, not Joseph and Elizabeth, and took place August 4, 1782. I know of no reliable source that shows her mother as Elizabeth Scholfield of Manchester.

When Thomas was two years old, a little brother named Samuel was born in Bolton to Thomas Sr. and Betty Bateman.[3] There was another long gap between Samuel's birth and their last child. When Thomas' youngest sister Margaret was christened in Bolton on May 28, 1815, Britain and the United States had been at peace for only two months following the War of 1812. Thomas Sr. was still working as a weaver. The year 1816 is known as the year without a summer, the coldest since records have been kept from 1766 to the present, and it was an agricultural disaster leading to severe food shortages in Europe. The sky had been darkened by ash from the eruption of Mount Tambora, Indonesia, the worst in over a millennium. As an eight-year-old, Thomas would have experienced it. He would have remembered the Peterloo massacre, which took place a dozen miles from his home in the yard of the St. Peter's Church in Manchester when Thomas was 11 years old. He or his parents may have witnessed it. The year without a summer, the oppressive Corn Laws which kept the price of bread high, and the Napoleonic Wars had caused massive unemployment which sparked the massive demonstration in Manchester of about 60,000 people which was violently quelled by a cavalry charge into the crowd, killing 18 and injuring many others.

The next year[4] Thomas' brother Joseph married Margaret Turner, a 19-year-old "from this parish"[5] at St. Peter's Church. Their first three children: James, William, and Mary, were all born there.

Sometime before January 5, 1828, when their fourth child John was born in Manchester,[6] Joseph and Margaret Bateman moved 10 miles southeast to Salford, just across the River Irwell from Manchester, where Joseph had work as a brickmaker. Before the year was over, Thomas' older sister Mary had moved to Manchester as well, where she married James Gresty.[7]

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[3] This date and place are from F*ind a Grave*. No primary source had been found. Samuel's RLDS record gives his birth as November 1809 in Bolton. He was listed as 32 on a ship log in 1840, which favors that date.

[4] This marriage was on September 23, 1823, just two days after the angel Moroni appeared to Joseph Smith, the American prophet to tell him about the golden plates.

[5] Margaret and her parents John and Mary Law Turner were born in Manchester.

[6] I could find no record of the place or date except in a much later L.D.S. record of Joseph's family, which gives his birth date as January 5, 1828, in Manchester. John died that year.

[7] This marriage ended within a year. On September 13, 1829, Gresty married another woman, Eleanor Styan. Mary appeared in the 1841 census under her maiden name of Bateman. She never remarried and died in 1853.

This map is dated 1831.

Thomas Sr. probably continued to work as a weaver in Bolton until Joseph had his brickyard in Salford, but I think it is likely that the entire family moved about that time to Salford to work with Joseph in the brickmaking trade. By this time Thomas Jr. was 20 years old and Samuel was 18, welcome help for Joseph in his business. Margaret, the baby of the family, was 13 years old.[8] Thomas Sr. was 50, pretty old for a career change from weaving to brickmaking.

In ancient times Salford was a more important place than Manchester, but that reversed during the industrial revolution. Salford was always known for textile weaving, which changed from a watermill-driven cottage industry to highly industrialized with the advent of steam mills in the early 1800's. This ballooned the population from 12,000 in 1812 to over 70,000 in 1842. Large-scale low-quality housing was booming, which would have been a gold mine for brickmakers such as the Batemans, and probably precipitated their move from Bolton.

On September 14, 1829, Thomas Jr. married a laundress named Mary Street in the parish of Eccles, which is in Salford near Pendlebury. Mary was dark in complexion and slight, weighing only 89 pounds as an adult. In those days, laundrymaids were at the very bottom of the servant heap, so lowly that often they were kept almost entirely out of sight. Laundry duty was so despised that in larger households, servants were sometimes sent to work in the laundry as a punishment. It was an exhausting job. Because there were no detergents, most laundry loads had to be soaked in soapy water or lye for hours, then pounded and scrubbed with vigor, boiled for an hour or more, rinsed repeatedly, wrung out by hand, fed through a roller, and carried outside to be draped over a hedge or spread on a

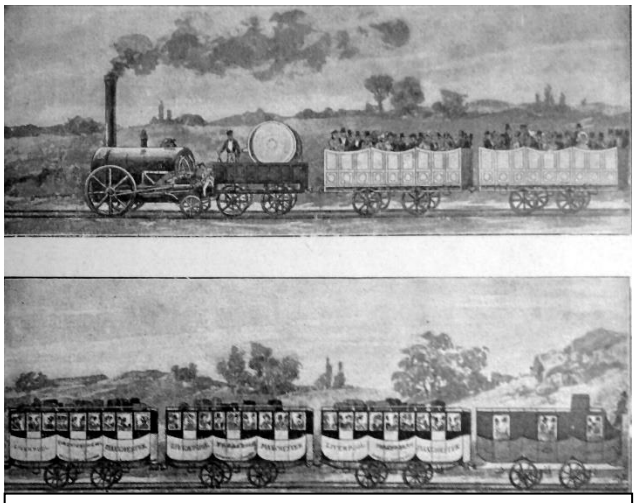
[8] Margaret Bateman, Thomas Jr.'s sister, married Samuel Davies in Liverpool September 4, 1837, apparently never joining the Mormons.

lawn to dry. Ironing was a massive and dauntingly separate task. Irons cooled quickly, so they had to be used with speed and then exchanged with a freshly heated one.[9]

Thomas was described on his marriage document as a laborer. In family stories he is said to have been around six feet tall and well built. Mary had been baptized as an infant in Manchester and her parents lived there. Witnesses to the wedding were Samuel Bateman, who was Thomas' younger brother, and also Henry Bateman and Eliza Burrows, whom I have not been able to identify.

Mary Street was 20 years old when she married Thomas. She was the fourth child of Elizabeth Scholfield and Samuel Street, a weaver,[10] and the first of their children to be married. Mary never knew her oldest brother Peter, who died four years before her birth. Her older sister Ann was 27 years old and living away from home, working as a servant. Her brother John was a year older and would marry the following year. Among her younger siblings was Nancy Street, who would later become involved with the Mormon Church.

The Manchester Cathedral is only about a mile from Regent Road in Salford, just across the River Irwell. At that time, Manchester was just what you might imagine in a crowded metropolitan area during the Industrial Revolution. At the time it as was actually a little larger than New York City with about 320,000 people of which around 3,000 were unemployed. Factory workers lived in crowded tenements without sewers or clean water. Protestant preachers were predicting the coming of the millennium.[11]



First Passenger Railway 1830

The day after the marriage of Thomas and Mary was the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railroad, the first railroad in the world joining two cities and the first built exclusively for steam trains (as opposed to horse-drawn trains.) It was used to supply raw goods to the cotton mills and to ship finished product to the port of Liverpool as well as to convey passengers. The first locomotive, the Rocket, was driven by George Stevenson, the "father of railways." It could carry 40 passengers, averaging 17 mph over the 31 miles of its length, reducing the travel time between the two cities to two hours. The new track ran parallel to Regent Road, where Joseph Bateman had his brickmaking business, and the first train would likely have been visible from there. In fact, I think it is likely that the Bateman family was part of the giant crowd which observed its historic run.

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[9] Bill Bryson, *At Home, A Short History of Private Life*, Doubleday, New York, 2021, p.134-5.

[10] I'm not 100% sure of her parents since there were four Mary Streets christened that spring in Manchester, three in that very cathedral. Assuming that she was the daughter of Samuel Street and Elizabeth (Betsy) Scholfield, probably not all of the 13 children listed in FS are really theirs, but certainly the first seven or eight were. There were several Samuel Streets of about the same age living in the Manchester area at that time, who have probably been confounded in the family genealogies.

[11] From *An Intimate Chronicle, The Journals of William Clayton*, George D. Smith.

Thomas and Mary had been married six months when the Church of Christ[12] was organized by Joseph Smith. Little did they know how that would soon change their lives. Their first child, Harriet, was christened in the cathedral in Manchester on November 4, 1830. In the record, Thomas was described as a "labourer," probably working at Joseph's brickyard. It is possible they were not living in Salford at the time. Her abode was given as Manchester—other people in the register who were from Salford were so designated.

Brickmaking had been introduced to England by the Romans but really took off following the Great Fire of London in 1666, when all subsequent buildings were required to be made of fireproof materials. To meet the need, brickmaking was introduced to the provinces all around England. The industry began to be more mechanized in 1820, and the canals and railways made it much more profitable. Permanent brickyards became established in large cities, which could produce many thousands of bricks per day with a small workforce. By 1850 most brickyards were mechanized with extrusion techniques, but that was too late for the Batemans, who probably made them by hand.

The bricks were made of clay thrown into wooden molds and turned after two days. Drying took one to three months depending upon weather, and then the bricks were stacked and baked in kilns for two days and nights. Success depended upon availability of clay, coal, and waterways for transportation.[13] Brick masters frequently were employed in other trades such as farming or building since the work was seasonal, depending on weather. Clay was dug in the autumn or winter and left in heaps. Molding commenced in March or April after danger of frosts. Access to river and canal transport were helpful, but toll charges were high and railway costs doubled the cost per brick, so brickworks were ideally located close to projects, which tended to concentrate them around urban areas.

From Lomas Family Brickmakers, Salford

Small enterprises like the Batemans' dominated until the end of the nineteenth century. One study in their region in 1831 showed an average of 5.9 employees in 103 brickworks. Brickmaking boomed between 1801 and 1850 as the population doubled requiring many houses, especially for factory workers.

Thomas' brother Joseph and his wife Margaret were attending the New Connection Methodist group in Salford when their daughter Margaret was born in January 1832. Joseph was listed as a brickmaker on their next daughter Betty's baptismal record on December 17, 1834.[14]

Thomas and Mary Batemans' son Samuel[15] was christened on August 12, 1832, in the Manchester Cathedral at the age of about six weeks. His parents' abode was given as Salford, so by that time Thomas was definitely engaged in brickmaking with Joseph and their father. Thomas and Mary were not

[12] That is the original name of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints until it was changed by revelation on April 26, 1838. See Doctrine and Covenants 115:4.

[13] Kathleen Watt, *Nineteenth Century Brickmaking innovations in Britain: Building and technological Change*, PhD Thesis, University of York, 1990. P. 28.

[14] Betty died in Salford at the age of three.

[15] Since Thomas' son and brother have the same name of Samuel, they are easy to confuse. Please pay close attention henceforth and I'll try to clearly distinguish between them in my writing.

yet Methodists on March 30, 1834, when their second daughter Elizabeth was christened an Anglican. Their abode was given as Pendleton, which is just half a mile from Regent Road in Salford and less than two miles from the cathedral in Manchester.

Thomas and Mary were still living in Pendleton when their next child, Thomas (III), was born January 27, 1836 and baptized on April 24 by G. Bradshaw, the Methodist minister, so it was sometime between the two births that they joined Joseph's family in Methodism. I don't know whether Thomas' parents or his brother Samuel also joined. By 1836 Thomas and Mary were 28 and 27 years old with four children under seven.

In that year, a 17-year-old named Robert Pixton[16] began boarding with Joseph Bateman on Regent Road, in Salford, just across the River Irwell from Manchester. Pixton wrote that he worked in a brickyard in summer and in winter for many years, probably referring to Joseph's brickyard. He had been working for Thomas Hargreaves when he moved to Joseph's house, having worked for Hargreaves at Quaker Halls dyeworks since age 12, where he broke his leg and arm when he was "taken up in a machine." He lived with the Batemans until September 1841 when they left for America together.

On March 27, 1836, the Mormon Temple was dedicated in Kirtland, Ohio.

A year later[17] the first Mormon missionaries arrived in Liverpool: Joseph Fielding, John Taylor, Orson Hyde, and four others. Fielding and Taylor had been in a study group in Canada before being converted by Parley P. Pratt in 1836. They had written about the L.D.S. gospel to James Fielding, Joseph's older brother, a Methodist minister in Bolton, who opened his pulpit to them when they arrived. The missionaries baptized nine of his parishioners on July 30, 1837 and many more after that, making James Fielding regret his hospitality. One of the many converts baptized that fall in the River Ribble was William Clayton, who would soon enter Thomas Bateman's life. In November, a woman named Hannah Greenwood and her parents and siblings became the first Mormons in Bolton. She would later marry Joseph Fielding. But by this time all the Batemans had moved from that town and would not meet missionaries until Manchester was opened to proselyting.

That December, Thomas and Mary's fifth and sixth children, the twins Joseph and James Boam,[18] were born. Their baptism is found in the non-conformist Methodist record in a single entry for both. James Boam Bateman died as an infant on March 1, 1838.[19]

On Christmas Day 1837, a general L.D.S. conference was held in Preston in the Cock Pit, now known as Temperance Hall, which was attended by about 300 Saints according to Heber C. Kimball's notes. There were delegates from each branch, all within 30 miles, but none yet from Manchester. The missionaries

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[16] Robert Pixton and Thomas Bateman are both 3rd great grandfathers to me. Their grandchildren Parylee Pixton and James Alfonso Bateman were married on October 11, 1893 in Salt Lake City.

[17] July 19, 1837.

[18] Wondering where such an unusual name might have come from, I did a little checking. I found a man named James Boam who was a brickmaker in Manchester who married in 1837. He could have been an admired friend of Thomas and Mary. There was also a James Boam in the 1841 census in Heaton Norris, Salford. I don't know whether he is a brickmaker or not, but he would be seven years older than Thomas, about the same age as Joseph, and another possible contributor of the name.

[19] Or sometime in the first quarter—the birth registry gives March 1 for all baptisms in the first three months of the year.

blessed 100 children and confirmed 14 new members. The Word of Wisdom was taught for the first time in England.[20]

Unbeknownst to the saints in England, two weeks later Joseph Smith was forced to flee Kirtland for Far West, Missouri.

February 21, 1838, Thomas' mother Betty Armstrong Bateman died of asthma at Joseph's home in Salford on Regent Road, where Joseph signed the death certificate. She died before any Mormon missionaries came to the Manchester area.

By the next general conference in Preston in April 1838 there were 1,600 members in 20 branches in England. According to Joseph Fielding, the first missionary to go to Manchester was called during that conference. Although not named in the document, Fielding was probably referring to William Clayton. Clayton had been born in Penwortham, Lancashire, the oldest of 14 children, and was married October 9, 1836. Having been baptized only six months earlier, he was named president of the branch in Manchester where the Batemans lived and in two years grew a branch of 240 members.[21] Clayton reported that there were 1,000 members in attendance at the conference, 77 ordained to priesthood offices, representing all 20 branches.[22] After the meetings Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, and Elder Russell departed for Liverpool, probably on the train, and sailed for America on April 20. All the original British missionaries went home except Joseph Fielding, who became the mission president with Willard Richards and William Clayton as counselors.

But things were not going so well for the Mormons in America. That summer of 1838 was the beginning of their expulsion from Missouri. On October 5th David Patten, President of the Quorum of the Twelve, was shot and killed at Crooked River. The infamous extermination order was issued by Governor Boggs on October 27, followed by the massacre at Hawn's Mill on October 30. By December 1, the leaders of the Church were imprisoned in the ironically named Liberty Jail.

In Lancashire on October 17, 1838 a man named Thomas Bateman, age 29 (approximately our Thomas Jr.'s age) was sentenced to one year incarceration on the charge of larceny in Lancashire. There were at least two other men living in the county named Thomas Bateman who were within a year of that age, so I don't think it was our Thomas because it was only halfway through the jail term when his daughter Mary was conceived around May 1839. She was born 27 February 1840.

Clayton left his wife behind in Preston and applied himself to building up the Church in the great city of Manchester. That fall, the Mormon newspaper *Times and Seasons* wrote of his effort, "Elder Clayton gave himself wholly to the work, and soon after commenced preaching and baptizing in Manchester. A small (congregation) had previously sprung up in Bolton, through the labors of Elder Wilding and was continued by Elder Amos Fielding." In March 1839 came another positive report on Clayton's work in Manchester. James Lea, who had been a missionary in Exton and Bath and was on his way to Scotland, wrote of William Clayton's missionary work in Manchester: "…a large and populous town where a large

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[20] James Lavender was baptized that day, the father of Sarah Ann, who later married Joseph's son William Bateman. There was later a Lavender in Augusta, Iowa according to a letter by Willard Richards. Maybe Willard knew him from both places.

[21] Julie Cannon Markham, Lord, Roll on thy Work: The World of Joseph Fielding, http://bsmarkham.com/julie/Fielding/fieldingbook.html .

[22] Heber C. Kimball reported 700, not 1,000 attendees.

door is opened…spent three sabbaths there very happily." Clayton had by then been there off and on for 11 months, but his wife Ruth was living in Preston with their 18-month-old daughter and eight months pregnant. Joseph Fielding was facing a similar problem. His wife was also pregnant at the time, about six months along. They had a tearful separation that March as Fielding left Preston to take care of Church business in Manchester. He had preached three times on a recent Sunday in Bolton. He wrote to his wife: "There were two Primitive (Methodist) Preachers…one said he would open his door for us at any time, said this was the right way and there was no other…Both seemed well satisfied."

It was while Elder Lea was making his visit to Manchester that Thomas Bateman was investigating Mormonism. He joined the Church on March 17, 1839, and Mary was baptized March 30.[23]

Jane Littlewood Rigby, a former handmaiden to Queen Victoria, was baptized a Mormon in Manchester three days after Mary. Her husband had been a missionary companion to Parley P. Pratt and converted Jane while she was in the Queen's service. She, her husband, and two children will reenter this story several times.

This was that severe winter in America when the Saints were being driven from Missouri. By May 1839 Joseph Smith had escaped Liberty Jail and had moved his family to Commerce, Illinois, soon to become Nauvoo.

That July the British Mission President Joseph Fielding reported a Pentecostal experience after preaching on the gift of tongues in Manchester, which may have been witnessed by Thomas Bateman. Fielding and Clayton had the experience while ordaining John Moon, a relative of Clayton's wife Ruth. Fielding also wrote about an unsuccessful, overzealous attempt of the branch in Manchester to live what later came to be called the United Order. Thomas Bateman was probably involved. "The Brother who first proposed it was sincere and willing to help his brethren, but Men, it seems, cannot live together in this way yet… They have learned a good lesson, they will not do so again, but seem very humble and teachable… The Saints in Manchester are very loving; they love Bro Clayton rather too much..."

Thomas' younger brother, Samuel Bateman, and Lucy Marsden were married on September 9. Although the marriage was recorded in Prestwich, their residence was given as Ringley, which is a small parish in the deanery of Bolton in the village of Kearsley, about five miles northeast of Pendleton and Salford. On the marriage document, Thomas Sr. and Samuel were both listed on the marriage document as a "laborer" by trade and the bride's father as "weaver." Samuel was probably making bricks with the family. Lucy's younger sister Mary Ann witnessed the marriage. They were Bolton girls, probably acquainted with Samuel before the move to the brickyard. Maybe he knew Lucy a little too well--their first son Joseph "Joe" was born March 20, 1840, just six months after their wedding.[24] Later, Samuel and his son Joe were both brickmakers in America.

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[23] Thomas was said in one Bateman family history to have been baptized by his maternal grandfather, Joseph Armstrong, but this must be false. *Family Search* has Betty's father listed as Francis Armstrong and I have Joseph Armstrong in *Ancestry*, but neither of these is supported by good sources. In any case, Joseph Armstrong died in 1821 and his wife Elizabeth Scholfield died two years earlier, long before the Mormon Church was even organized.

[24] I don't have a source for this exact date, which comes from his entry in *Family Search*, but he was in the registry for the quarter January-March, so the birth was no later than March.

In October the Church moved its headquarters to Manchester, which required Joseph Fielding to move from Preston although his wife did not accompany him.

At that time most people in Manchester were working-class people with no interest in religion, but the Mormon converts were different as far as religion went. Of the 21 Manchester Branch members known to have written journals, nine wrote of their dissatisfaction with organized religion before their conversion to Mormonism. Most devoted themselves to missionary work after their baptism. Most converts were in their 20s and 30s, more women than men, many single. Only about a quarter of the people living in Manchester were natives, most having come from nearby industrial areas for economic reasons.[25] The vast majority of Mormon converts were manual laborers like the Batemans. Factory workers put in over 12 hours per day. Slumlords packed row houses lacking adequate water and sanitation. The air was full of smoke and the streets with sewage. Methodism was having a great impact.[26] Emigration among the Mormons was discouraged in the first two years, probably due to the Missouri troubles, but after 1840 it was strongly encouraged, especially by the summer if 1841.[27]

On New Year's Day 1840 William Clayton began a journal which gives great insight into this early Mormon community. There are many references in it to the Batemans and many other saints including the Rigby family. In the second entry on January 2, Clayton wrote: "Brothers Broome[28] and (Thomas) Bateman are about £46 in debt which was *contracted at the time of the community* (italics mine). The house is £150 debt. They have tried to sell it but cannot." The house seems to have belonged to the branch with multiple families in it. This suggests that Thomas was part of the unsuccessful attempt at communal living mentioned by Joseph Fielding. I thought at first that Clayton was writing of Thomas' personal financial position, but it seems that Thomas was trying to retire debts incurred by the branch or branch members while they were trying to establish a sort of united order. In a letter from Clayton to Joseph Fielding quoted by Susan Woodland Howard,[29] "When Bro's Bateman and Broome lived together (the community) they got a great quantity of coals and flour on credit which has not yet been paid for. The creditor is about to send the Bailiffs, and the way he (Bro. Broome) is going to act I don't fully approve. He has some time back been giving money to sister Ann Crickersley and has gone so far with her that his wife was jealous, but the grievance has been settled and now Broome wants Ann to go and live with them and have the house and goods in her name and thus evade the Bailiffs."

Between January and April 1840, the entire Quorum of the Twelve came to England, sent by the Prophet to gather the British saints to the newly established city of Nauvoo. In January the first of these, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Theodore Turley, arrived in Liverpool. They visited George Cannon (he would join the Church the next month), who was Taylor's brother-in-law, and then took a train to Preston. Train travel in that area had been possible for just about a year.

Thomas appeared in Clayton's diary again on January 24: "Brother Bateman has come in and says he has given his watch for Paul Harris' debt, and he owes £4 for Choutler. He has paid £2, and the man wants

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[25] 1851 British Census.
[26] Early Life in Britain, chapter in *Mormon Passage of George D. Watt: First British Convert, Scribe for Zion* by Ronald G. Watt, 2009, Utah State Univ. Press.
[27] *Mormons in Victorian Manchester*, BYU Studies Quarterly: vol.27: Issue 1, Article 6.
[28] This was probably William Broome, a shoemaker, who married Ellen Hulme May 10, 1830. I can find no evidence that he ever emigrated.
[29] http://penwood.famroots.org/mary_street_thos_bateman.htm.

the other. He has heard about some work about 17 miles from Manchester and wants to know if it will be wisdom to go. He can get little to do here (the brickyard was probably idle in the middle of winter) and I can hardly say nay. I feel on account of his office." Was his "office" a church calling? He was not a deacon--probably a teacher or priest.

On January 31 Clayton wrote of a problem in meeting. It concerned the use of subscriptions (membership dues or an assessment) vs. a collection box and the duties of a deacon named Arthur Smith, who had acted contrary to Clayton's instructions. "I then called upon the officers to state their feelings on the subject. Brother Bateman said when his sister-in-law came from the meeting and heard what had passed she was very much grieved and thought we were breaking the order which I had spoken of upon the meeting before…. Brother Bateman then said he was satisfied when he had heard both sides of the question but he believed that if any of the Elders saw him go down and baptize they would stop him and we should (likewise) watch that none of the officers took the Deacon's business for time to come." So, Thomas was apparently an officer in the branch.

On February 27, 1840, Thomas and Mary's seventh child Mary was born. I could (of course) not find any christening record for her—the family was no longer Anglican nor Methodist. Mary's labor and delivery were mentioned a day later by Clayton in his journal. He wrote that he was called up at six, but she delivered before he could get there--a girl.[30] "Prayed with her. Took breakfast and returned and wrote a letter to Brother (Willard) Richards." Clayton wrote on March 10, "Went to Brother Batemans, prayed with Sister Street (Nancy Street, Mary's sister)." I suspect Nancy was there to help Mary with the delivery.[31]

Ten days later Samuel and Lucy Bateman had their first son, whom they named Joseph. I don't know exactly when they joined the Church.[32]

In March Wilford Woodruff was introduced to the United Brethren, a dissenting church in Herefordshire. By 1841 all but one of the 600 United Brethren had joined the Mormons, and eventually a total of 1,800 others. This was about 135 miles south of Manchester.

In his diary recounting his visits to the various members Clayton wrote on April 7, "…thence to Brother Bateman's to water." Clayton uses this expression several times. It appears to be something like going to tea, a social ritual.[33]

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[30] Little Mary would later die in Augusta, Iowa at age seven.

[31] Because Clayton called her *Sister* Street, I believe that Mary had probably been baptized, though no record of that has surfaced. She did not emigrate to America and seems to have dropped out of the Church. From another entry in Clayton's journal, she appears to have expressed some dissatisfaction with the branch. She married James Walmsley February 27, 1848, in Manchester, had four children, and died at the age of 78 in Lancashire.

[32] An RLDS membership record states that Samuel's son Joseph was born in Bolton and so does the Birth Index, but I think this is compatible with Ringley. If Samuel was working for Joseph in Salford he had a commute of five or six miles. It is not known when Samuel was baptized. His RLDS record says 1838, which is unlikely, but if so he would have been baptized in Preston. I think it was more likely in Manchester in May 1840 when Joseph was baptized, or possibly as early as Thomas in March 1840, but that would have been before his marriage. I don't find dates for his wife, Lucy Marsden, either. None of her family seems to have joined.

[33] In a footnote the editor of Clayton's published diary explains that due to contamination, sharing safe water was a social usage. *An Intimate Chronicle, the Journals of William Clayton*, edited by George D. Smith, Kindle Books.

At April conference George A. Smith, the 22-year-old apostle, preached in the Cock Pit, the Temperance Hall, where the Twelve bore testimony to 700 in attendance. On the 14th was a meeting of the Quorum in which Willard Richards was ordained an apostle. A few days later they all heard Brigham Young speak in Manchester conference announcing the gathering of all L.D.S. in Nauvoo. By that time the Batemans' branch in Manchester was the second largest group in England with 240 members (compared to 300 in Preston), none of whom except some of the missionaries had been in the Church over two years. Two other branches had about a hundred each, and the rest were much smaller. By July Manchester numbered 280. That day the visiting eight apostles released Joseph Fielding as mission president and instructed him to return to Preston after months of being away from Hannah and Rachael. At the end of the conference, the apostles were dispersed throughout England. Parley P. Pratt was assigned to preside in Manchester. On May 2, 1840, the first issue of the *Millennial Star* was printed in Manchester at mission headquarters where Parley P. Pratt and Brigham Young were located.

The biography of Joseph's son William states that his family first met the Mormon missionaries in 1840. On May 24, 1840 Thomas' older brother Joseph Bateman was baptized in Manchester.

The first ship of British Mormon immigrants left Liverpool for America on June 7. In July, Parley P. Pratt was called to be president of the British Mission through April 1841 at a conference in Carpenter's Hall, Manchester. 2,767 members attended including seven apostles, 19 elders, 15 priests, 11 teachers, and three deacons. Thomas Bateman was likely one of the relatively few Aaronic priesthood holders. After the conference Pratt went back to America for his family in Maine, who were sick, hoping to move them to England since he would likely serve several years. He returned with them in October, just missing the next conference.

The first of the Batemans to emigrate was Samuel, Thomas' younger brother. On September 8, 1840 he and Lucy set out with their six month old infant on a sailing ship, not a steamer, called the *North American*[34] in a company led by none other than William Clayton, who continued his wonderful diary throughout the trip, but the only mention of the Batemans was on September 29, when Samuel Bateman caught a shark about a yard long during a calm. They arrived on October 12 in New York City. In a letter written after his arrival, William Clayton wrote that Samuel's family came from Manchester, not Bolton, supporting the notion that Samuel had made bricks with the rest of the family. The ship's record gives Samuel's age as 32, his profession as brickmaker.

They took a steamboat up the Hudson River to Albany and then crossed the state of New York on the Erie Canal to Buffalo. There they faced a dilemma. They did not have enough money to pay for the rest of the trip.[35]

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[34] Among the many passengers from Manchester on that ship were several who will appear later in this book including John Lambert with his siblings and Elizabeth Ravenscroft.

[35] Clayton wrote: Elder Turley's mind was much cast down in consequence of being obliged to leave some of the poor in our company at Buffalo. While he was reflecting on the best manner of accomplishing this and when almost heartbroken, the presiding Elder of the stake at Kirtland, Hiram Kellogg, came by and Turley knew him. After they had saluted each other, he made his case known to Elder Kellogg, who immediately advised to take the company to Kirtland as they would winter more comfortable there than in Commerce. This was a total deliverance to Elder Turley's mind and a relief of his burden. The reason why some must be left here was a want of money. (They had thought it would be $5 per head to go from Buffalo to Chicago and it turned out to be $10, and this was the last boat of the season.)

So, all who could afford it went on to Commerce and the rest stayed in Kirtland. Seventeen families, including Samuel's, were named to stay. The rest of the group stopped at Fairport, Ohio to take in wood, but because of a strong wind they were disappointingly unable to go the 11 miles to see Kirtland and the temple.

Samuel and his wife had children in the Kirtland region in 1842, 1845, and 1847 and did not move west until after the Saints had left Nauvoo.[36]

The rest of Clayton's party arrived in Chicago in early November. From there they crossed the prairie in rented wagons. They built their own flatboat to go down the Mississippi, reaching Burlington on November 22 and Commerce November 24. They had arrived before the Prophet changed the name to Nauvoo.

In the meantime, Joseph Bateman's nine-year-old daughter Margaret was baptized a Mormon in Manchester on November 7, 1840.[37] Thomas' family may have already been on their way to America. They probably departed the first or second week in November, the first of the Mormon emigrants to take a winter route through the West Indies and the Caribbean to New Orleans. Joseph would soon bring his family across the ocean, and Thomas Sr. would follow, but without his wife or daughters.

In February 1841 two hundred Church members departed from Liverpool, and a week later about 100 more followed to New Orleans aboard the ship *Echo*. James Lavender was one of the leaders. At General Conference in Manchester at Carpenters Hall, nine of the Quorum of the Twelve were present. Manchester had 443 members, presided over by Parley P. Pratt. Attending the meeting were seven elders, 15 priests, and nine teachers. Nearly 800 saints had emigrated the past season.

The third weekend in April over 100 additional Mormons including seven apostles sailed from Liverpool to New York City.[38] They arrived in Nauvoo on July 1.

According to Robert Pixton, the ship *Tyrian* left Liverpool mid-September 1841, the 11th ship of Mormon emigrants from England. About half of the passengers were from the Manchester area and it included Thomas Bateman's older brother Joseph with his family. On November 8, 1841 the ship *Chaos* left Liverpool for New Orleans with Thomas Bateman Sr. aboard, the last of his family to come to America.

[36] Only one of the families who settled at that time in Kirtland ended up moving to Nauvoo according to the Fielding biographer, Thomas Green.
[37] According to her Life Sketch written April 1, 1912, *Family Search,* LKVY-87K.
[38] John Lambert's mother Patience Vey Lambert was among them. John will appear in the coming chapters.

Chapter Two – Augusta

Reader, please be patient. I am going to give you several pages on the history of Augusta, Iowa before I relate the arrival there of the Batemans. Part of my purpose is to give the context for Thomas and Mary Bateman's time there, but to be totally candid, in researching this book I was appalled at how little has been written about Augusta's role in L.D.S. Church history and I want to illuminate it.

In 1804 William Henry Harrison signed the Treaty of St. Louis with Chief Quashquame of the Sauk and Meskawaki Indian tribes, which ceded their land between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers in Illinois and Wisconsin for white settlement in exchange for an annual fee of $1,000 in goods to his tribes. This established the Mississippi River as the western boundary for white settlement.

The treaty caused deep resentment among the Sauk, especially the war chief Black Hawk, who felt Quashquame did not have the authority to make the deal, and in consequence the Sauk sided with the British in the War of 1812. Twenty years later in 1832, Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi with a large group of warriors, killed 12 militia men at Stillman's Run in northern Illinois and threw the white militia into a panicked retreat, which was the beginning of the Blackhawk War.[39] This conflict provided the young Abraham Lincoln (who didn't actually see action) with his first and only military service. Other participants who later became famous were Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor, and Jefferson Davis. The war provided impetus to the policy of Indian removal from the southeastern states which had already begun in 1830.

A treaty ending the Blackhawk War was signed at Davenport, Iowa on the west bank of the Mississippi in which the Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago people ceded in exchange for $640,000 an additional 40-mile-wide strip of land for settlement by white Americans on the west side of the river in Iowa running approximately from Missouri to Wisconsin known as the Forty-Mile Strip or (Winfield) Scott's Purchase, effective June 1, 1833.

On that date, Des Moines and Lee Counties officially became open to settlement although there had been several illegal squatters since 1829, who had been periodically evicted by U.S. troops and by the Indians. This land became the so-called Half-breed Tract because it was designed to accommodate former French trappers who had intermarried with native Americans in the region.

The first frame and log buildings were built by 10 legal immigrant families, many of whom would soon be deeply involved in the Mormon settlement of Augusta. John Whitaker, born in Virginia 1795, built a cabin in 1833 on a good mill site on the Skunk River where Augusta later arose and brought in a dry goods store in 1833-34.[40] Levi Moffet built Iowa's first water powered flour mill in Augusta.[41] One of the settlers who came with Moffet was Frederick Kesler, son of a German trapper in Meadville,

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[39] Not to be confused with Utah's Black Hawk War in 1865-1872.

[40] History of Des Moines County, Chicago, Western Historical Co., 1879.

[41] Moffet was born in New York in 1800. He moved to La Harpe, Illinois in 1834, and with Fred Kesler and William Smith of La Harpe bought Whitaker's mill site claim on the Skunk River in May 1835, where he built a dam and sawmill. Smith sold out to Moffet for $5,000 in 1837 and Moffet built an independent flourmill. In that year, Whitaker moved his store into town. It continued there for eight years until 1845.

Pennsylvania, who would later become one of the first Mormon converts in Augusta.[42] The first school in Augusta was taught in 1836 by Alex Hillary in a log cabin. The first church in Augusta was Methodist. They met at Moffet's house. Frederick Kesler married that spring and put up a cabin on the north bank of the Skunk River, but the couple got sick and nearly died before they moved temporarily to Vicksburg, Mississippi seeking a more healthful climate.

On December 7, 1836, Lee County was formed as an entity, dividing it from the massive Des Moines County, which when it was created in September 1834 comprised all land west of the Mississippi south of Davenport in Michigan Territory. Since the Skunk River was the border between Des Moines County and Lee County, residents of Augusta could live in either county depending upon which side of the river they built. Lee County was on the south. After recovering his health, Frederick Kesler returned via steamboat from Vicksburg where he had been building mills, arriving May 5th in Augusta.

The Mormons in Missouri were preparing to move to the northern part of Clay County in the summer of 1836. In August they purchased a one-mile square plot on Shoal Creek, later to become Far West. That December, Alexander Doniphan, Clay County's representative to the state legislature, submitted a bill to create a new Caldwell County to house the Latter-day Saints, with Far West as county seat. Saints from Clay County, Missouri, Kirtland, Ohio, and many other locations flooded into Caldwell and nearby Daviess Counties during the next two years. In March 1838 Joseph Smith moved permanently from Kirtland to Far West with his family. Caldwell County had 8-10,000 people by then. In the first seven months of 1838 over 1,600 people moved there from Kirtland, leaving behind only about 100 Mormons, the very group that Samuel and Margaret Bateman would join in the fall of 1840. While the new Mormon immigrants were still streaming into the new Zion, violence broke out on election day in Daviess County on August 6, the first skirmish in the Mormon War. The President of the Quorum of the Twelve, David Patton, was killed at the Battle of Crooked River in October, and 17 Mormons were killed at Hawn's Mill on the eve of Halloween. The next day Joseph Smith and four other leaders surrendered and were soon incarcerated in Liberty Jail. From February to April the Saints left Missouri in the severe winter cold, some fleeing downriver to St. Louis, and most of them north and east into Illinois and Iowa. On April 10, 1839, Joseph Smith and his companions, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Caleb Baldwin, Alexander McRae, and Lyman Wight[43] escaped while being transported to another venue and made their way to Quincy, Illinois.

It was during this exact time that Thomas and Mary Bateman were converted to Mormonism in Manchester. I wonder how much they knew of the sufferings of the American saints at the time.

According to one Des Moines County history, "in 1840 a few Mormons came from Nauvoo, purchased a mill-site, built a sawmill, but only remained a short time." But there is much more to this story.

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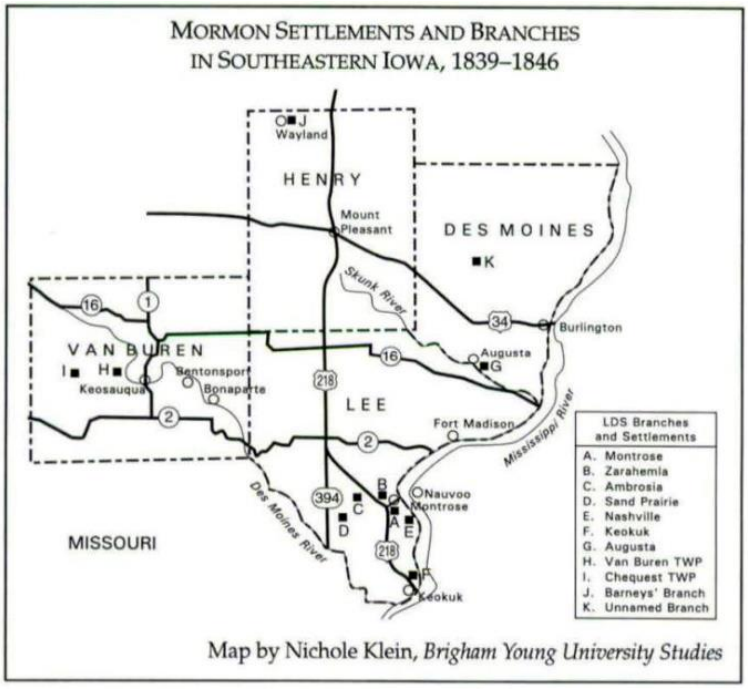
[42] After his wife died, Frederick Kesler's father farmed his children out to neighbors and went west, never to be heard from again. The teenage Kesler learned mill building working for Abram Clark in Trumbull County, Ohio for five years after which he moved west with Levi Moffet to build mills, travelling with eight families in a flatboat to St. Louis and on a steamboat to Warsaw. They explored and located the Skunk River location for the grist mill.

[43] Lyman Wight, who will figure in our story, had moved to Ohio around 1826 and was baptized into the Reformed Baptist faith by Sidney Rigdon in May 1829 before being baptized a Mormon by Oliver Cowdery in 1830.



During 1839 a large number of Mormon refugees from Missouri settled in Lee County, especially around Montrose where the Iowa stake of Zarahemla was organized. The Church purchased the land in the so-called Half-breed Tract, which was just across the river from Nauvoo.

That summer Frederick Kesler heard about Joseph Smith and the Mormons being driven out of Missouri and locating at Commerce, only 20 miles from his home in Augusta, and immediately went down the river to meet Joseph Smith. Kesler was not baptized at that time but came away favorably impressed. Sometime in 1839 Lyman Wight, who had recently escaped with the Prophet Joseph Smith from Liberty Jail in Missouri, visited Augusta, held meetings, made a number of converts, and finally located his family there.[44] Wight had been a brickmaker in Clay County Missouri and it seems reasonable to believe that he may have started a brick yard in Augusta.

That October John Smith, the Prophet's uncle, was assigned to be president of the Iowa Stake—he had previously been the stake president at Adam-ondi-ahman. "Uncle John" as the Saints called him moved to Nashville, now called Galland, three miles south of Montrose, one of the nine branches in the Iowa (later Zarahemla) Stake. On October 20 Lyman Wight along with Reynolds Cahoon, who was living in Montrose, were appointed counselors to John Smith in the Iowa Territory Stake. Wight and Cahoon had been counselors to John Smith in the stake at Adam-ondi-Ahman as well.

In 1840 several families of saints who had been expelled from Missouri settled at Augusta. By late summer the branch had 50 members. The original town was on the north side of the Skunk River and consisted of two stores, a blacksmith shop, and a few private dwellings, probably including the home[45] of Lyman Wight, but when more saints began to locate there, a new townsite was surveyed on the south side of the river in what is now Denmark Township about four miles west of Augusta, where most of them built small houses.

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[44] Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Deseret News Press, SLC 1941.

[45] A letter from Emma Smith to Joseph Smith on December 6, 1839 (Joseph Smith Papers) mentions that "The disturbance between Gov. Boggs and the Iowa is still increasing, a sheriff of the Iowa *crossed Skunk River at Col. Wight's place* (italics mine) this week with a Missouri sheriff his prisoner who was taken while he was collecting his governor's taxes…at the mouth of the Des Moines the Missourians retained the powder and lead that belonged to the merchants above them."

One of the early Mormon residents of Augusta was Ira Ames,[46] who wrote: "Early in the spring of 1840 Lyman Wight desired me to move to Augusta where he was living. He wanted me to set up a shoemaking business which was much wanted there… Got in a wagon with him, hired a house of Levi Moffit (sic), returned to Nauvoo, hired a team, and took my family to Augusta.[47] I was appointed to preside over the branch there shortly after arriving, which was quite numerous. All things went smoothly that summer. In the winter I gathered up all the grain I had earned and had it made into flour at Moffit's Mill…"

Frederick Kesler was baptized in the Mississippi River in June 1840 by Freeman Nickerson. Joseph Smith invited Kesler to build another mill in Augusta, and Kesler recommended Augusta for settlement by Mormons. He was soon ordained a teacher in the Augusta Branch. Kesler made many trips to Nauvoo from Augusta and received his patriarchal blessing there in October.

In the U.S. census of June 1840 Lee County had 6,093 and Des Moines had 5,577 people.

In the summer of 1840 Wandle Mace, another important Mormon figure, moved his family to Augusta and built a mill there with Lyman Whitney. Together they built a house for their families. Mace wrote, "We had good meetings, enjoyed the Spirit of the Gospel. We also had plenty of opposition from the Church and from sectarian ministers." Mace wrote of a debate he held with the storekeeper (probably John Whitaker). The businessmen generally took his side, but the ministers were hostile. "Uncle John," the stake president, stayed with Mace during his visits to Augusta and they often went to Nauvoo together, especially to conferences.[48]

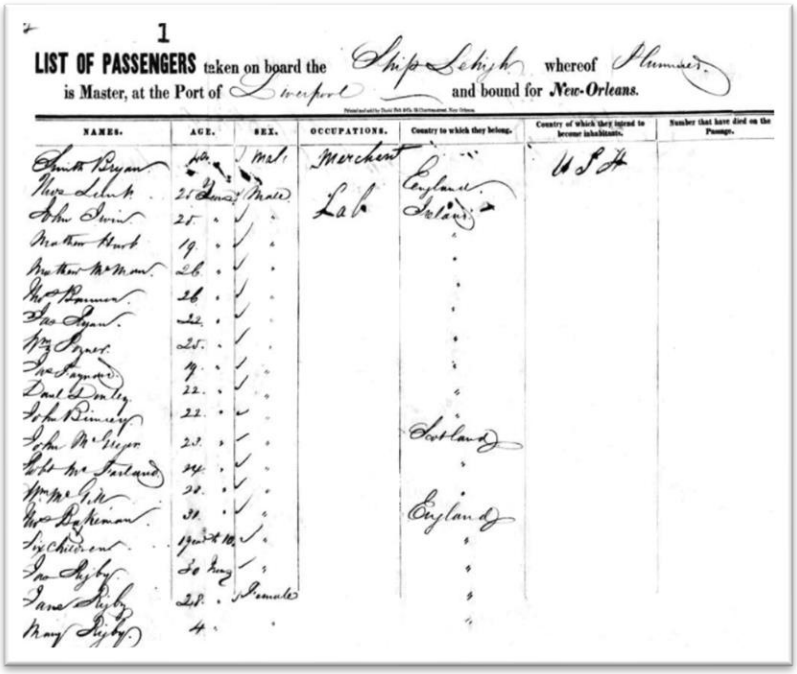
In October 1840 Joseph Smith spoke of building a temple in Nauvoo. Brother Whitney assisted Mace in blessing the sick in Augusta.

On the first day of 1841 Augusta Township was formed in Sections 23 and 24 (containing the town in section 24) of Des Moines County on the north side of the Skunk River. It was described as rolling prairie, well-watered with numerous brooks and cool springs with rich soil which produced good corn, winter wheat and lime quarries. That was also the day that the doctrine of baptism for the dead was announced in Nauvoo as a temple ordinance, though it was performed in the Mississippi River (presumably beginning later that spring) until the following November, and after that in the font of the unfinished temple.

It was the very next day that Thomas and Mary Bateman stepped out of the ship *Lehigh* in the port of New Orleans.

[46] Ira Ames had been Joseph Smith's bodyguard in Kirtland and had known John Smith in Kirtland. He was an important figure at Far West.
[47] According to Ames' autobiography he returned to Nauvoo in 1842.
[48] The autobiography of Wandle Mace is a wonderful read, which I highly recommend.

Thomas and Mary Bateman with their children Harriet age 10, Samuel eight, Elizabeth nearly six, Thomas five, Joseph three, and Mary 10 months, arrived in New Orleans on January 2, 1841, the first winter crossing of the Atlantic for the Saints. James Rigby had been assigned the leader of the company which seems to have consisted of only the two families. James and Jane Rigby and their four-year-old daughter were listed with Mary (Mrs.) Bateman and her six children on the one-page manifest, which did not include Thomas' name.[49] The passenger list raises questions. There are 18 names on the one-page manifest plus the Bateman children, who are not named, only given as "six children ages 1-10." Only one passenger is older than 31. Of the 18, there are only three females listed: Mary Bateman, Jane Rigby and Jane's four-year-old daughter Mary.[50] It is possible that other pages containing additional passenger names were lost, but I think there were only a few passengers because this ship was a freighter. They had left in September while Thomas' brother Samuel's ship was still on the Atlantic Ocean underway to New York City. According to a later account by Thomas' son, who was also named Samuel, the family stayed in New Orleans and St. Louis for three months before coming up the Mississippi by steamboat just in time to attend the laying of the Nauvoo Temple cornerstone at the L.D.S. conference on April 6.



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LIST OF PASSENGERS taken on board the Ship Lehigh whereof Plummer is Master, at the Port of Liverpool and bound for *New-Orleans*.

NAMES.	AGE.	SEX.	OCCUPATIONS.	Country to which they belong.	Country of which they intend to become inhabitants.	Number that have died on the Passage.
Thomas Bateman	40	Mal.	Merchant	England	U S A	
Mary Bateman	21	Female				
John Irwin	25		Lab	Ireland		
Harriet Bateman	10					
Matthew McMann	26					
Thos Bowman	26					
Jas Lyon	22					
Wm Lyon	25					
Jas Lyon	7					
Daniel Darley	22					
John Bimsley	22					
John McGregor	23			Scotland		
Peter McFarland	24					
Wm McGee	22					
Wm Bateman	31			England		
Six children	1 yr 3 M					
Jas Rigby	26	Mag				
Jane Rigby	22	Female				
Mary Rigby	4					

Ordinarily the steamboats traveled about three to four miles per hour upstream against the Mississippi River's current, requiring about 13 days to reach St. Louis and another three or four days to reach Nauvoo, provided the water was high enough to permit passage beyond Warsaw where the Des Moines River rapids created an obstacle, so why did the trip take the Batemans three months? Since they were the first Mormons to arrive via New Orleans, I figure there would not have been a significant Mormon community there to host them, but they were still there when Jane Rigby delivered a child on February 22. I think the travelers soon moved on to St. Louis, where there definitely was a significant Mormon presence. Perhaps Thomas and James Rigby were able to find work there.

I am not sure how long Thomas and Mary stayed in Nauvoo once they arrived. At the laying of the temple cornerstone, they would have had a chance to greet their friend William Clayton, who had been in America for six months. Clayton was living in a humble cabin across the river in Montrose, but attended the April conference in Nauvoo, where he sat on the stand with the other High Priests. In his journal he reported that Lyman Wight was sustained an apostle at that conference to replace the slain

[49] The transcribed copy of the passenger list *did* have Thomas' name. It too had only one page.

[50] The Rigbys lost an 18-month-old daughter at sea, but she is not on the list, which was made out on arrival as suggested by the fact that the words New Orleans are printed on the manifest and Liverpool is written in.

David Patten. The cornerstone was laid with great ceremony by the Nauvoo Legion, and Sidney Rigdon delivered an address for the occasion in his usual powerful manner. President Rigdon gave another address on April 8 on baptism for the dead, after which many of his hearers were baptized in the river for their dead relatives, and many more for the remission of their own sins. No doubt Thomas and Mary were witnesses to all of this, but Clayton made no mention in his journal at the time of the Batemans.

Family stories differ on the date of their move from Nauvoo to Augusta, where the branch then had about 50 members. Most claim that the Thomas Bateman family lived in Nauvoo for four to six months while Thomas and Samuel worked in the Nauvoo brickyard on Parley Street to build the temple. Samuel was only nine years old at the time, so these accounts may have confounded this period with their work to complete the temple in 1845. I believe they chose to live in Augusta at the urging of the new apostle Lyman Wight, who may have been looking for workers in his own brickyard. According to the biography of Thomas' son Samuel, it was in Augusta that they made the first brick that could be moved without chipping. They were definitely established in Augusta by November when Thomas' older brother Joseph arrived with his family.

According to the autobiography of Robert Pixton, he and Joseph Bateman's family left Liverpool on September 22, 1841, headed for New Orleans aboard the *Tyrian* with Joseph Fielding and 200 other Saints. This was nearly a year after Thomas and Mary departed. Their father Thomas Sr. left November 8 aboard the ship *Chaos*, the day before the *Tyrian* arrived at New Orleans.

Thomas and Mary were in Augusta in time to attend the Iowa Stake conference, which was held there that November. Wandle Mace was called at conference on a mission with Alvin E. Greaves as his companion. Mace wrote that he had many friends in Augusta among the non-professors of religion, but not among the "reverends." He wrote that Mr. Moffet invited him once to his house to meet a Catholic priest, who was minister to Moffet's wife. Branch President Ames would have still been living there at that time.

The Tyrian arrived in New Orleans November 9, 1841. Joseph was travelling with his wife Margaret Turner, their son James and his new wife Hannah Wilson, and their other children, William, Mary, and Margaret. James had married Hannah Wilson just a week before their departure in the cathedral at Manchester. Robert Pixton, who was not yet a Mormon although he had lived with Joseph's family for over five years, came on the same ship but without his wife, not having enough money for both of them.[51] They took a steamer from New Orleans to St. Louis, and from there to Warsaw about 20 miles short of Nauvoo in mid-November, having to disembark early because the steamer could go no further due to low water. They had been stuck in Warsaw for two weeks when Thomas Bateman appeared from Augusta in a wagon to pick them up and take them to Nauvoo. After staying there a day or two, Pixton went on to Augusta with Thomas, who also took Joseph's son James with his wife and a man named Thomas Charlesworth.[52] Thomas got them across the river on the ferry, but his wagon was stopped by ice and they had to walk the last 20 miles to Augusta. Apparently, Joseph and his family

[51] He wrote that it was OK with her, but in her own account she wrote that Pixton had gotten "American Fever." She lost her second baby named George a week after her husband left. She got along by taking a job for $7 per week as a wet nurse in a comfortable home and followed him to Nauvoo two years later on October 21, 1843.
[52] Charlesworth was a 17-year-old crew member from Chorley, about 12 miles south of Preston, who had jumped ship in New Orleans and traveled up the Mississippi with the Mormons. He was baptized in December 1841, which would have been right after he arrived at Augusta. Later he moved to Nauvoo, where he married Alice Barrow, a girl from Bolton. They eventually settled in Millard County, Utah.

(except James) stayed in Nauvoo for a while, but it would not have been long. Joseph was probably in Augusta by December. His second son William was said in his obituary to have "embraced the gospel in the year 1842 in Augusta…," but his temple record gives the date of his baptism as December 3, 1841.

On January 1, 1842, Lyman Wight was mentioned in a record of the activities of the Twelve Apostles as being in Ohio. He had made a quick trip to Kirtland and "rebaptized about two hundred of the cold, dead members of the Church and brought many of them to Nauvoo." I wonder whether Samuel Bateman and his family were among the re-baptized. They did not return with Wight to Nauvoo.

On January 14, 1842, Thomas Bateman Sr. arrived at New Orleans, listed on the passenger list as a brickmaker. His ship had been sent out in November by the mission president Parley P. Pratt with 170 passengers led by Peter Melling, the 56-year-old second patriarch of the Church.[53] Upon arrival Thomas Sr. probably went directly to Augusta to live with his sons Thomas and Joseph.

Robert Pixton spent the winter in Augusta cutting wood for Thomas. He was baptized in Skunk Creek on the first of March by Thomas Bateman, and Lyman Wight was back in time to confirm him.[54] Two days later on March 3, 1842, Mary Bateman gave birth to her eighth child, James Morgan Bateman, her first child born in America,[55] likely named after his Uncle James. Pixton wrote that he went to Burlington[56] that spring to work in a brickyard to make money to bring his wife to America, where he netted $15. I wonder why he went to Burlington if Batemans and possibly Lyman Wight were making bricks in Augusta, especially if Pixton had spent years of his life in Salford making bricks for Joseph. Thomas Bateman's son Samuel, who was 10 at the time, said that his uncle, Joseph Bateman, was running a brickyard in Augusta in 1842. Thomas is said to have had a brickyard of his own the next year where he made and sold about 75,000 bricks. I think the best explanation is that Joseph's brickyard was actually located at that time in Burlington, which was only 14 miles away. Pixton also dug a mill race there with another Mormon immigrant named John Lambert[57] and then went to Nauvoo to speak with Joseph Smith about bringing his wife from Manchester. He was referred to Brigham Young, who helped to make the arrangements.

That summer, the Mace family moved from Augusta to Nauvoo. So did the branch leader, Mace's friend Ira Ames, who wrote: "1842 built a flatboat, put my effects on it and took my family and three others, floated down in the Skunk River and landed in Nauvoo all safe, called on a mission—left September 26, 1842." The next branch leader in Augusta was John Groesbeck.

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[53] Peter Melling was one of the first to be baptized in Preston's River Ribble in 1837, ordained patriarch in Preston by Brigham Young on April 17, 1840. Melling died on a mission to Indiana in 1844.

[54] Lyman Wight moved to Nauvoo soon after that. In July he was listed as one of the counselors (along with Hyrum Smith, Wilford Woodruff, and John Taylor) of the Nauvoo Second ward and in September he was on another mission. (JS papers).

[55] James Morgan Bateman is my 2nd great grandfather.

[56] Burlington was the Des Moines County seat and only 15 miles from Augusta.

[57] John Lambert had come to with his family (minus his mother Patience, who came later) in the same ship as Samuel Bateman, the *North America*, but when Samuel stopped in Kirtland, the Lambert children continued on to Nauvoo via Chicago with Theodore Turley and William Clayton. It is possible that John was acquainted with the Batemans in England. The Lamberts (John, his younger brothers Richard and Joseph, his older sister Elizabeth, and his widowed mother Patience) were all baptized in October 1837 (or possibly 1838) by William Clayton, David Wilding, and John or Francis Moon. Lambert happens to be my wife Linda's 2nd great grandfather.

James Bateman

At the end of August Joseph Bateman's oldest son James died in Augusta at the age of 21. He was the one who had married Hannah Wilson of Salford just before the family left for England.[58] I have no details of his death except that Hannah was pregnant at the time with their first child, James Nephi, who was born six months later.[59]

At the end of September Frederick Kesler went on a mission to the Eastern States, where he "gathered" his wife's mother, step-father, and three children and then returned to Augusta.

That summer Levi Moffet engaged a 30-year-old river captain named Dan Jones to build a steamboat in Augusta. Dan Jones had been a sailor since the age of 16 and was very experienced, having sailed around the Horn of Africa to India. He had emigrated from Wales with his wife to New York City and then to St. Louis, where in 1841 he became captain of the *Ripple*, a tiny steamboat that carried passengers between New Orleans and St. Louis, until he wrecked it upon a rock, after which he made his way up the Mississippi River to Augusta where he met Moffet.

That October, the *Maid of Iowa* was launched into the Skunk River with Dan Jones as captain. The *Maid of Iowa* was one of 350 steamships operating above the Des Moines Rapids. Built at a cost of $4,000, it could carry 30 people. It was basically a freighter but had carpeted floors, and it was a stern wheeler, much smaller than most steamboats at 115 feet length and 60 tons. (The *Ripple* had been only 38 tons). The *Maid of Iowa* sailed many voyages on the Mississippi between New Orleans and La Crosse, Wisconsin and on many tributaries including the Skunk River. Only 28% of Mississippi steamboats ventured above Warsaw, where the water became shallower and more difficult to navigate. Still, many of them reached Nauvoo--in the 1845 season 12 different steamers docked at Nauvoo over a five-day period. The *Maid* carried coal, lumber, military stores, wheat, corn, pork, lead, sugar, and more (no mention of bricks.) Joseph Smith bought shares in the ship in 1843.[60]

Now I need to make another digression to clear up an error that appears in many of the Bateman family stories. It is the matter of Elizabeth Ravenscroft.

On March 23, 1843, a young woman named Elizabeth Ravenscroft, who had immigrated in William Clayton's company with Samuel Bateman, married a man named Thomas Bateman in Nauvoo. This well documented marriage has been confusing to many Bateman historians, and it is easy to see how the mistake was made. Elizabeth was from a Methodist family in Staffordshire, born May 18, 1819. It is likely that she joined the Church in Manchester. She is mentioned in William Clayton's diary as a member of his branch and she came aboard the *North America* listed as a straw bonnet maker in Clayton's company which also included Samuel Bateman, the brother of our Thomas Bateman Jr. This marriage has been attributed erroneously to either Thomas Jr. or Thomas Sr., but both of them were living in Augusta at that time. *Her* Thomas Bateman was not related to our family, having been born in

[58] Her parents, John and Margaret Bradburn Wilson were also Mormons. They later joined the Augusta settlement.

[59] James Nephi later died in Burlington at the age of 10 shortly before the family immigrated to Utah.

[60] Donald L. Enders, *The Steamboat Maid of Iowa: Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi*, BYU Studies Quarterly, 19:3.

1831 in Thirsk, Yorkshire. I have not been able to learn how or when he immigrated, nor why he was in Nauvoo—most likely he was also a Mormon, since he and Elizabeth Ravenscroft were married there by Elder Heber C. Kimball. Shortly after their marriage Elizabeth and her Thomas Bateman permanently left Nauvoo. He became a homeopathic physician and they ended up in St. Louis, where they had eight children and lived to old age, a respected part of the local Methodist community.

Thomas' son Samuel Bateman wrote that it was in the spring of 1843 that they bought a farm on the south side of the Skunk River about a mile from town.

General Conference was held within the walls of the uncompleted temple that April according to Wandle Mace. Eighty-four members of the Church were reported in good standing in the branch at Augusta and a large number of men including Mace were called on missions to raise money for construction of the temple, but Mace was kept in Nauvoo because of his engineering abilities. Among other things, he built three cranes for constructing the temple roof and a sawmill on the temple lot.

Just as the conference ended, the *Maid of Iowa* docked at Nauvoo. Dan Jones had picked up a group of incoming Mormons including Parley P. Pratt in New Orleans. The arrival of the saints on this date produced a great celebration and praise from Joseph Smith for the diminutive, but tough captain. It has been written that in response to this warm welcome Dan Jones joined the Mormon Church on the spot, but actually he had been baptized January 19, 1843, two months before this encounter with Joseph Smith.[61] Soon Joseph Smith bought a share of the vessel and commissioned it for a year as a ferry between Nauvoo and Montrose, but after that it reverted back to the more profitable business of primarily shipping freight. It required a crew of 16, generally Mormons from then on, and eventually 42 are known to have worked on the steamboat.

That May, Joseph and Margaret Bateman's sixteen-year-old daughter Mary Bateman married Hyrum Webster Bowman in Augusta. Three months later their second son William married Sarah Lavender[62] in Augusta, but evidently, they moved about 10 miles west of town to land William had bought in the Half-breed strip.[63]

The summer of 1843 Pixton worked in the Nauvoo brickyard on Brother Pratt's land. Then he went to New Orleans to work and await his wife's arrival, where he made a kiln of bricks.

A memorial to the U.S. Senate and House was signed by Joseph Smith and 3,418 others that November, which included signatures of Thomas Bateman Sr., Thomas Bateman Jr., Mary Bateman, Samuel

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[61] Jones became a faithful, even famous Mormon. He visited Joseph Smith in his cell in the Carthage Jail before the martyrdom. He went on a mission to Wales two months later, returning in 1849 leading a shipload of converts back to America, having with the elders under his charge baptized over 4,000 people. He settled briefly in Manti, Utah where he was the mayor in 1851 before returning on a second mission to Wales from where he returned in 1856 with 600 more converts, returning in a handcart company. He died at the age of 52 in Utah in 1862.

[62] Sarah's father James Lavender had been one of the leaders of 100 saints who had left England in February 1841 aboard the *Echo*, but his children were not on the passenger list and may have come separately. The family settled in Augusta. Sarah Lavender evidently was pregnant when she arrived, for she bore a girl named Emma in Augusta on August 5, 1841, whom she brought into her marriage with William.

[63] On March 1, 1846, William Bateman was awarded three 320-acre plots (1.5 sections) in Lee County by the U.S. government. This is about 10 miles due east of Augusta and only about six miles northeast of Bonaparte on the Des Moines River. Such deeds are only issued after the land is fully paid for, and the process takes up to a year. Claimants can take up to five years to pay, so if William paid cash, he bought the land sometime in 1845. If he paid in installments, he could have bought it as early as 1841.

Bateman, Harriet, Elizabeth, and Joseph Bateman with his daughter Margaret. They all probably signed it in Augusta, since their signatures are all grouped on two consecutive pages that included other known Augusta members Jane and James Rigby, John Pincock, Mercy Groesbeck, Henry Groesbeck, Delia Groesbeck, Charlotte Pincock, and others. This document allows reasonable deductions on who was living in Augusta at that time.

Sometime in the winter of 1843-44 Samuel Bateman was baptized in the Skunk River by his father Thomas. The winter was very severe, the ice said to have been about three feet thick. After the baptism he traveled about a mile in his wet clothes, which were frozen stiff.[64] On the first of January William Lehi Bateman was born to Thomas and Mary, their ninth child.

In the spring of 1844 Robert Pixton returned from New Orleans to Nauvoo, having finally been reunited with his wife. He did not return to Augusta but worked in the Nauvoo brickyard to pay the rest of his wife's passage and farmed in a common plot with other Nauvoo residents. In March, the Apostle Willard Richards wrote to Levi Moffet and the Saints at Augusta requesting lumber to build his house in Nauvoo--there was no lumber available in Nauvoo at all. His secretary, Elder Thomas Richardson, carried the letter by hand. Richards wrote that he longed to see his friend Mr. Moffet, and the Saints Lavender, Pincock, and "scores that I haven't time to name." Apparently, Richards had spent considerable time in Augusta. At April conference a large number of missionaries were called to 25 states to preach and promote Joseph Smith for president of the U.S., but within two months they were all recalled when Joseph and Hyrum were killed at Carthage jail. In the months after the martyrdom the saints in Augusta and other outlying towns were called back to Nauvoo, but the Batemans did not immediately comply, although that summer Samuel and Thomas were said to have worked in the Nauvoo brickyard under the management of Franklin Pullen.[65]

Tragedy again struck Joseph Bateman's family in July when Joseph's 18-year-old daughter Mary Bateman Bowman died in Augusta giving birth to a child, who also died. In October Thomas and Mary Batemans' friends the Rigbys were still in Augusta, for Jane had a baby there that day. I suspect Batemans were also still around. Samuel wrote that when they finally moved to Nauvoo, Thomas and family sold their farm, taking with them only the cash and six cows. Thomas and his son Samuel, who was now 12 years old, are said to have worked on the Temple all that winter, so they probably moved there in December and resumed their earlier work in the brickyard there.

Thomas Bateman Sr. died in Nauvoo at the age of 67 on April 16, 1845. I know no details about his death but assume he had been living with Thomas or Joseph. He had been a widower for seven years.

Samuel is said in his biography to have witnessed the laying of the capstone of the Temple on May 24, 1845. This celebrated event was likely witnessed by the entire Bateman family as well as most Mormons living in or around Nauvoo. Thomas was later appointed by the Twelve to take the Saints' goods from Nauvoo up to Iowa and sell them, and 13-year-old Samuel helped with that.

There was trouble in Augusta among the Saints who had not gone to Nauvoo as instructed. James Brown wrote a letter on June 13, 1845, which contained the names of 19 Saints in Augusta who had rejected the Twelve as being the head of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the group being

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[64] James A. Oliver, *Biography of Samuel Bateman.* It is hard to believe Samuel could have been baptized when the ice was three feet thick.

[65] Ibid. This was probably Francis M. Pullen, who was said to have built the first brick in Salt Lake City.

led by G. J. Adams and Jared Carter. Henry Groesbeck and Ellis Ames were on the list, but there were no Batemans, not all of whom had gone to Nauvoo, at least not all the in-laws. On August 5 in Burlington Hyrum Bowman, who had been married to young Mary Bateman when she died giving birth, married his sister-in-law, James Bateman's widow Hannah Wilson, who was going under the name of Hannah Turner. It is not known whether she had taken her mother-in-law's name or had briefly been married in between.

Beyond the apostasies, there was even more serious trouble for the Mormons as persecution mounted in Nauvoo and especially in the outlying areas which Mormons had not vacated. From mid-September to mid-October, Mormons in Lima and the Morley settlement were attacked, and one Mormon, Edmund Durfee, was shot and killed. Seventy homes in the two towns were burned along with possibly 100 barns and outbuildings. Forty-five gentile men were identified by the Mormons as participants, but none were ever brought to justice.

A mass meeting in Quincy of previously friendly non-Mormons passed a resolution on September 22 that the Saints should remove themselves from Illinois. Brigham Young replied that the Mormons intended to leave anyway in the spring. He also informed the Illinois governor's representatives, who had been sent to keep the peace, that the Mormons were planning to leave Nauvoo and settle in the west. A resolution to that effect was adopted unanimously in General Conference in October but acts of arson continued.[66] There were about a thousand Mormons in 180 families living in the Morley settlement including some of Joseph Smith's plural wives.

Bathsheba Smith, the wife of George A. Smith, the young apostle, wrote, "Fall of 1845 found the city of Nauvoo one vast workshop, for nearly every family was wagon building."

On November 30, eight of the Twelve met in the attic story of the unfinished Temple and dedicated the upper rooms. There followed a rush to get everyone endowed before the exodus of Nauvoo. Thomas and Mary Bateman were endowed in the Nauvoo Temple on January 27. Joseph and Margaret were endowed January 28 and Joseph's son William and Sarah Lavender on Jan 29.

On February 4, 1846, the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo commenced when a man named Charles Shumway ferried across the Mississippi with the first wagon to leave Nauvoo. Two days later the vanguard party of pioneers began crossing the river. Joseph, William, Mary, and Margaret Bateman were all with Brigham Young's 1,200 Saints in the first division, traveling with Lorenzo Snow's 100.

As Joseph's family headed out with the vanguard group, Thomas and Samuel were working to complete the temple. Samuel is said to have been one of the first responders to put out a fire on the roof, which had been caused by an overheated stove. It was put out in 30 minutes with only minor damage.

One reason that Thomas' family did not leave with the vanguard group may have been Mary's condition. When they saw Joseph and Margaret off, Mary was in her ninth month of pregnancy. Her child John Bateman was born in Nauvoo on February 21 as the Brigham Young party was still gathering at Sugar Creek. The next day a blizzard left a foot of snow in Nauvoo. Three days later Charles C. Rich famously crossed the river on ice. Several dozen wagons crossed the ice during the next few days. At Bonaparte, the first party of Saints forded the Des Moines River on March 5 and the Camp of Israel reached

[66] Jorgensen: The Morley Settlement in Illinois 1839-1846, The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal, vol. 32. No. 2 pp. 149-170.

Richardson's point, 22 miles beyond Bonaparte where they stayed until the 18th building houses and splitting rails. William Pitt's Nauvoo Band, of whom William Clayton was a member, presented concerts for pay at the schoolhouse and courthouse. On April 24 Brigham Young party established a halfway station at Garden Grove. The main company moved out on May 12, leaving the poorest and least prepared behind.[67]

There were three distinct phases to the move from Nauvoo that year. After Brigham Young's group including Joseph Bateman's family blazed the trail, a much larger second group followed after the spring thaw and the dedication of the temple in May, many of this group catching up with the first. After giving up 500 men to the Mormon Battalion, Brigham Young delayed his initial plan to reach the Salt Lake Valley until the next year, and during the summer and fall of 1846 the Mormons settled in on both sides of the Missouri River for the winter. The third group to leave Nauvoo were the so-called poor group, many of whom had been unable or unwilling to make the crossing. Those people were ejected at gunpoint from the city in September and October under severe hardship.

The dedication of the Nauvoo Temple was on May 1, 1846, three months after the exodus began, attended by an estimated 10,000 people including Orson Hyde, and Wilford Woodruff and, I would guess, the Thomas Batemans, whether they had moved back to Augusta by then or not. On May 14, the second wave of emigrants began to leave. Fifty teams and 1,350 individuals left Nauvoo in a week. On May 22, the *Bloomington Herald* noted that ferries were running day and night, crossing the Mississippi River 35 times in 24 hours at Nauvoo. About 7,000 to 8,000 people were camped on the hills and prairie opposite Nauvoo. Most of these reached Brigham Young's company by July, but some stopped for extended periods along the way.

That month the Mormon Battalion was recruited near Council Bluffs. When they left Ft. Leavenworth August 1, Robert Pixton was among them.

According to historian William G. Harley,[68] of the 14,000 Saints driven from Nauvoo in 1846 between 2,000 and 3,000 lagged behind, halting temporarily in southeastern Iowa or northern Missouri. Some went down the Mississippi to St. Louis. Lacking food, funds, good wagons, and teams, or decent health, many sought housing and jobs, and did not reach the L.D.S. camps at the Missouri River for months or even years. The Thomas Bateman family was one of those who did not move out that year. In fact, they remained in Lee County for three more years.

It is uncertain exactly when they moved from Nauvoo back to Augusta. One history suggests that they returned the month after John's birth, another said in the spring, and others that the move was just before the attack on Nauvoo, which would have been in August or September. Thomas and Mary located on a farm on the south side of the Skunk River about a mile out of town owned by Fredrick Lowrey,[69] for whom Thomas worked.

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[67] The following winter about 600 of the "poor group" lived at Garden Grove and many starved.

[68] Hartley, William G. "Mormons and Early Iowa History (1838 to 1858): Eight Distinct Connections." The Annals of Iowa 59 (2000), 217-260. https://doi.org/10.17077/0003-4827.10371.

[69] Lowery was a prominent citizen of Lee County, possibly the wealthiest of all the local farmers, whose children owned much land throughout Lee County. Lowrey's mother had died in Virginia when he was 10 years old. Having learned the blacksmith's trade, he was a religious man and tried the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Carmelites, before being baptized a Campbellite in Ohio. He set out with his young wife for Iowa in 1839, where he bought 40 acres in Lee County and opened a blacksmith's shop. He was so successful that he was able to increase his

In any case, they were no longer in Nauvoo on September 10, 1846, when 800 men with six cannons opened fire on the Saints still in Nauvoo.[70] The Bateman children wrote that they could hear the cannons from their farm.

The attack continued for several days until an agreement was reached that every Mormon would leave Nauvoo except five men and their families who were permitted to stay to sell the remaining property. The fall exodus began as armed mobs drove out the remaining few hundred Saints. On September 12 Emma Smith traveled by river to Fulton, Illinois, where she joined relatives and friends. Lucy Mack Smith also left and spent the winter with relatives in Knoxville, Illinois. That day Mormon militia leader Daniel H. Wells agreed to a truce to allow the Mormons to evacuate. On September 15 four prayer circles were held in the temple per day petitioning for deliverance. Two days later the Carthage Greys entered the city, and "roamed around town ordering off families in two hours, and the sick were treated with cruelty" while some families were molested "while burying their dead."[71] The mob entered the temple and defaced it, tearing horns and ears from the golden oxen, but did not destroy it, thinking it valuable to them. By mid-September, 600 to 700 refugees were camped about a mile north of Montrose.

The generous citizens of Quincy delivered provisions to the Mormon poor, who were camped on the west bank of the Mississippi at Potter's Slough.[72] Later that same day a severe storm poured down torrents of rain on the refugees. Thomas Bullock wrote "most of those are the poorest of the Saints, not a tent or wagon but (had) sickness in it and nearly all don't know which way they shall get to the main camp." At least two rescue wagon trains from western Iowa returned to retrieve about half of them, the rest making it on their own, but many spread out to areas on eastern Iowa to find work. This place is where the "miracle of the Quails" happened on October 9, which provided food for the starving refugees. Mary Fielding Smith, Hyrum's widow, witnessed this miracle, so she was part of the poor group.

Soon the mob violence in Nauvoo spilled over into Lee County, Iowa, and the Bateman family was prohibited by the mob from working the farm for three months. The family suffered greatly during that time, but Lowrey graciously provided provisions to keep them alive until they could resume working, declaring that if the mob tried to drive Batemans away, "they will drive me, too." The Bateman biographer Susan Woodland Howard wrote that the mobbers finally backed down when Thomas met with the "mobocrats" and explained he was just trying to earn enough to move on.

On November 29 Mary's infant John Bateman, who had been born during the beginning of the Nauvoo exodus died in Augusta at the age of nine months. Samuel wrote that the family moved to the farm owned by Almond Crocker,[73] a mile from Lowrey's. I think this happened early in 1847. I believe it is

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holdings to over 400 acres. His 12 children, several of whom attended college, were born at Ft. Madison about 10 miles south of Augusta.

[70] Most of the following account was condensed from this article of the Battle of Nauvoo in the *Deseret News*.

[71] Journal History, 17 September 1846.

[72] Kenneth W. Godfrey, The Battle of Nauvoo Revisited, John Whitmer Historical Association journal, 2002 Nauvoo Conference, pp 133-146.

[73] I was able to find only two people named Almond Crocker, both in the 1850 census. One was the correct age but lived his whole life in New York state. The other was a three-year-old boy living in Wisconsin with his mother Lucy Crocker age 28, who possessed an unusual $50,000 in property and a sister named Lucy. My theory is that the boy was named after his father, who sold his farm to the Batemans, moved his family to Wisconsin, and died before 1850. As to the location of the land, a land patent was granted June 1, 1845, to Abner Crocker for 40 acres

likely that this is where the Batemans set up their brickyard. That winter Thomas got very ill with the ague (spells of chills and fever, often caused by malaria), and the children ran the farm and the brickyard. The bricks were of high quality, and they were able to sell several thousand, which would have given them considerable money for their later trip to Little Pigeon. The children went to school, probably at the Augusta Academy. The Batemans worked at the Crocker farm for the next two years farming and making bricks.

The farm locations are approximations based on federal land grants of 40-80 acres

On May 18, 1847, Thomas and Mary's seven-year-old girl Mary, whose birth was mentioned in William Clayton 's diary, died.[74] Having lost two children in six months Mary Street was five months into her next pregnancy with Martha. The Bateman house was nonetheless full of children. Harriet was 16 and Samuel would be turning 15 in July. Elizabeth age 13, Thomas 11, and Joseph nine were attending school when they weren't working in the brickyard. Five-year-old James Morgan and William, age three, were at home.

Although they had not joined the exodus, the Batemans were not isolated. Joseph and Margaret Bateman were gone, but Joseph's son-in-law Hyrum Bowman and his wife Hannah, James' widow, were living in Augusta with Joseph's grandchildren. Bowman was identified in the census as a brickmaker and may have been working for the Batemans at the Crocker farm.[75] Hannah's parents, John and Margaret

on Lost Creek, 1.6 miles from Denmark and 10 miles southwest from Augusta. I assume that Almond Crocker acquired his farm from Abner.

[74] *Find a Grave* gives Nauvoo as the place, but it seems much more likely to have been Augusta.

[75] The Bowmans and Hannah's parents the Wilsons came west in 1853 or 1854 and settled in the Wight settlement in West Jordan. Hyrum was cut off from the Church for "unchristian like conduct" on December 27, 1856 during

Wilson, were Mormons from Salford. Like the Batemans, they had settled in Augusta and then moved to Nauvoo after the martyrdom. The Wilsons did not follow the Nauvoo refugees to Kanesville but moved across the river to Keokuk. However, Hannah's brother John Wilson remained in Augusta.[76]

Thomas Bateman's younger brother Samuel, the first of the three brothers to come from England, was now also in Augusta, having finally left his home in Kirtland sometime after January 13, 1847, when his son James H. was born. My guess is that Samuel came to help with the brickmaking while Thomas was sick with the ague. Samuel had five children under eight: Joseph, Thomas, Samuel, Mary Ann, and the infant James H.

Thomas and Mary's friends James and Jane Littlewood Rigby were also still living in Augusta with their three daughters. Jane was pregnant and would have two more children by 1849 when Thomas and Mary Bateman went west.[77] Probably many others of the Augusta branch remained, especially the group who had not supported Brigham Young.

On September 15, 1847, Mary Bateman had another girl, whom they named Martha Ann.

In the spring of 1848 Mary and Thomas' son Samuel helped to move a family from Augusta west to the New Purchase about 75 miles from home, this being his first trip alone.[78] Harriet Bateman, Mary's oldest child, married a young man named Lyman Wight in Green Bay Bluff, Lee, Iowa on May 7, 1848. Lyman was 19 and Harriet was 18 years old. I couldn't locate Green Bay Bluff, but believe it is that same place as Green Bay Township which is 7 miles south of Augusta and the same distance northeast of Ft. Madison.[79]

Of course, Harriet's husband was not the Lyman Wight of whom we have already spoken. By then Lyman Wight the Apostle and founder of the Augusta branch had apostatized, leading a party of Saints dissenting from the Brigham Young supporters to found safe haven in the Republic of Texas in May of 1845. The Lyman Wight who married Harriet Bateman was the son of Lewis Wight, who was a nephew of the apostle. Unlike his famous uncle, Lewis Wight came much later into the Mormon Church, having been baptized February 21, 1843. An L.D.S. membership record shows that their son Heber was born in Ohio in 1845, as does the 1850 census, so the family went to Ohio (probably Kirtland) after Lewis' baptism, and to Iowa later that year or in 1846. If so, they probably came first to Nauvoo (since most of the Saints had been called from Augusta) and then to Lee County at the time of the exodus as Thomas Bateman did. Most of the Wight family histories are unaware of this sojourn of Lewis Wight's family in Augusta, assuming that they went to Council Bluffs during the exodus from Nauvoo. This notion is supported by the false assumption that Green Bay Bluff where Lyman and Harriet were married existed

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the purge of the Mormon Reformation, but after moving to Richmond apparently made it back into good standing in time to marry two Danish sisters in polygamy in 1867 and 1871 after which Hannah sued him for divorce.

[76] In 1854 Hannah and Hyrum Bowman and Hannah's parents and her brother John Wilson's family were all living in the Wight settlement where Mary and Harriet lived with the Wight family.

[77] When James Rigby died November 1849 in Augusta after the Batemans left, Jane managed to get her children to Winter Quarters and then across the plains with the Warren Foote Company in the summer of 1850 after which she married a man named John Mayer. Some of her children settled in Fairview in Sanpete County and Jane was buried there.

[78] James A. Oliver, *Biography of Samuel Bateman.*

[79] Fort Madison was built on the site of old Fort Madison, 1808-1813, the first military fort on the Upper Mississippi, used in the War of 1812 against Chief Blackhawk. It was established to establish control over the Louisiana Purchase. Early settlers built their homes among the ruins of the fort.

in western Iowa, not Lee County, and by unsourced birth and death places given for some of Lewis' children in Council Bluffs and impossibly in Pigeon Creek in 1840.[80]

Further proof of the Wights' stay in Lee County is a letter to Lewis and Nancy Wight addressed to Augusta, Iowa from her parents in Centerville, New York[81] containing local family news. They were troubled by Nancy's association with the Mormons.

The summer of 1848 was spent by the Batemans at their brickyard, producing about 3,000 bricks per day.[82]

It is debated when Thomas and Mary Bateman departed Augusta for Council Bluffs, but it was after Harriet's daughter Harriet Amelia was born March 4, 1849, and they may have traveled with the Lewis Wight family.[83] Some family stories say that by this time, the gentile neighbors who had kept Thomas from working on the Lowery farm were begging him to stay, but he sold his farm and moved out, driving his cattle. They had trouble with the spring mud, much like Brigham Young and Joseph Bateman's trip four years earlier, and Mary was in the third trimester of another pregnancy. One of Samuel's biographers wrote "After crossing the Des Moines River, they overtook one member who had stopped on account of one of his boys having come down with the measles. The Batemans offered to assist the family by driving their team for them while the young boy lay recuperating. They faced a good deal of wind, thunderstorm, and scattering cattle those first few weeks as they drove on towards the 'Bluffs.'"[84]

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[80] Samuel Lemuel Wight, Lewis' son, died at the age of eight at Council Bluffs according to *Find a Grave*. In Lewis' short autobiography he says "On November 24, 1846, our son Samuel Wight died at the age seven years old. We had a strong desire to gather with the Saints," and then he describes their journey to Ohio, and then to Illinois. (From context it appears Samuel died in New York, but I think Lewis got this out of order.) Samuel's death had to be after they left New York. I think it was in Augusta and that someone just *assumed* Council Bluffs. In 1846 Council Bluffs was known as Miller's Hollow and didn't become Kanesville until 1848 when Winter Quarters were abandoned. Millennium File confirms the date of Samuel Wight's death but gives no place. To complicate things further, the Pioneer Index doesn't give a death, indicating that he arrived 13 Oct 1850 in SLC, but he doesn't show in the wagon company with his family, so I think he died before that. *Find a Grave* gives the death for Elizabeth Wight, daughter of Lewis, as December 28, 1846, at Council Bluffs. *Family Search* gives December 28, 1844, but I think both are wrong. In his autobiography Lewis wrote: In 1849 our daughter Elizabeth Wight died at age of seven years old." By context, they had by then arrived "at the banks of Little Pigeon." The problem is that Lewis put their arrival at Little Pigeon ahead of the marriage of Lyman and Harriet on May 7, 1848 and gives no location for the marriage. *Find a Grave* also gives Lewis' daughter Nancy's birth as 1847 at Council Bluffs. The 1850 census gives only Iowa. By the logic above, I think she may have been born in Augusta, Iowa.

[81] Church History Library MS 12066.

[82] James A. Oliver, *Biography of Samuel Bateman*

[83] The Lewis Wight family lived at Little Pigeon in 1848 according to a family story. If so, they left Augusta a year before Batemans. The granddaughter of Sarah (Sally) Wight, Sylvia Savonia Cutler Steiner, wrote that the family arrived at "Council Bluffs" in the spring of 1849. I believe that this is correct.

[84] Oliver, James A., Biography of Samuel Bateman, 1881.

Chapter Three – Big Pigeon, Pottawattamie County

Around the time of the Blackhawk War treaty in 1833 which had opened up their home in western Illinois to white settlement, the local Pottawattamie Indians were relocated westward during the Van Buren administration to a reservation in what is now Pottawattamie County, Iowa. A man named Davis Harding who was appointed to instruct them in farming arrived on the steamer *Antelope* with his family and a company of soldiers from Fort Leavenworth in the spring of 1834. The Indian tribe, which numbered about 3,000, arrived from Illinois a few days later[85] escorted by a company of cavalry. The name Pottawattamie means "Makers of Fire." A Catholic mission was established there to instruct them in Christianity.[86]

Fourteen years later as Iowa Territory moved toward statehood it became necessary to relocate the Pottawattamies once again, so on June 5, 1846, the tribe signed a treaty at Trader's Point for the repurchase of the five-million-acre tract in Iowa upon which they had been located and to move again, this time to Kansas. They had two years to leave, but most were gone within a year. Traders Point, also known as Point-Aux-Poules, was a prosperous trading post near the Missouri River run by Peter (Pierre) Sarpy, the son of Gregoire Sarpy, a prosperous wholesale seed dealer in St. Louis. Peter had managed the American Fur Company's trading post fifteen miles away across the Missouri River at Bellevue, Nebraska since 1824. From there he established a ferry across the Missouri[87] and opened up his store and fur operation on the Iowa side among the Indians of that tribe.

By the most fortuitous of coincidences, it was only eight days after the treaty was signed opening the land to settlement that Brigham Young's advanced party reached the Missouri River, when George Miller arrived a day ahead of the main camp and conferred with Peter Sarpy at Trader's Point. The following day the lead pioneer wagons were crossing Mosquito Creek to take positions south of the blockhouse above the trading houses.

After their arrival, Joseph Bateman and his son William with his young family set out for St. Louis where they found work, leaving Joseph's wife Margaret and their 16-year-old daughter (also named Margaret) at the pioneer camp, probably at Miller's Hollow.[88] St. Louis, which was about 450 miles downriver, had a large number of Saints, having absorbed refugees from the evacuation of Jackson County in 1835, Caldwell County in 1839, and more recently from Nauvoo, as well as harboring new Saints arriving from England who were not sure where to go next. At the camp Brigham received word that 64 families of Mormons in St. Louis were awaiting teams to take them to join the Saints, with 82 others hoping to follow later.[89]

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[85] Clyde B. Aitchison, The Mormon Settlements in the Missouri Valley, The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Sep. 1907, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 276-289.

[86] Homer H. Field and Hon. Joseph R. Reed, History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa, from the Earliest Historic Times to 1907, Chicago, 1907, p.6.

[87] Belle Sanford, *Genealogy Trails Pottawattamie County, Iowa*, http://genealogytrails.com/iowa/pottawattamie/traders_point.htm

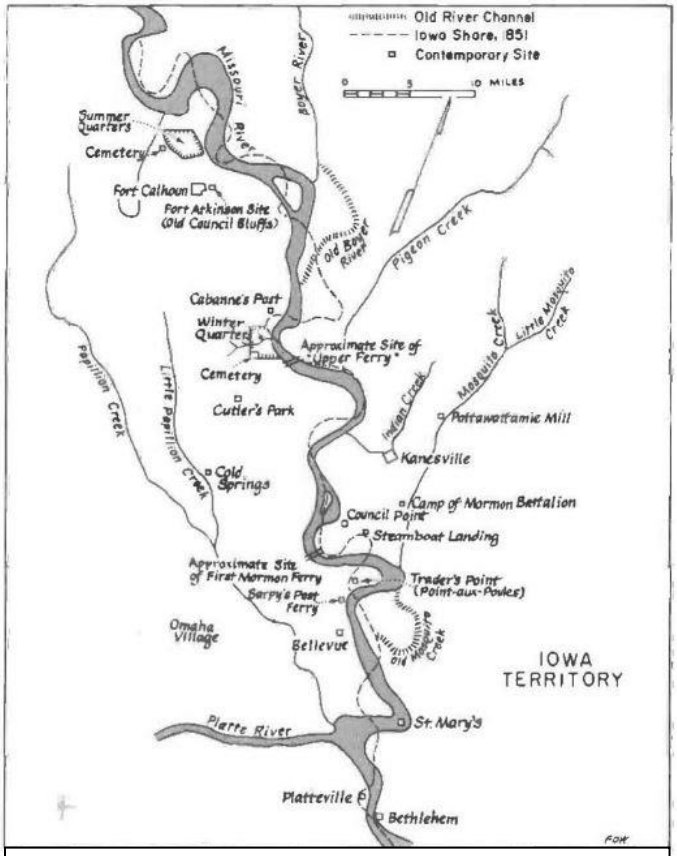
[88] When she was 81 years old, Margaret wrote for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers that she and her mother stayed at Council Bluffs after the general exodus from Nauvoo and stayed there during the winter. She later joined her father and brother, who were working in St. Louis. Council Bluffs was called Miller's Hollow at that time, and later, Kanesville.

[89] Conrey Bryson, *Winter Quarters*, Deseret Book, 1996.

William Bateman's wife Sarah Ann stopped along the way to St. Louis in St. Joseph, probably with friends from Augusta, where she stayed for two years. She had three children at the time including one who was probably born while on the trail from Nauvoo. Samuel, her fourth baby, was born at St. Joseph on June 14, 1847 and died there a year later. William moved Sarah and the remaining children at some point further down the river to Gravois Mills, Missouri, where Mary Ann was born on March 4, 1849, but the family was able to get back to Kanesville in time to set out for the Valley on July 5, 1849.

On the first day of July 1846 the Mormon Battalion was recruited at Mosquito Creek. On July 21 Brigham Young sought permission from the outgoing Indian agent R. B. Mitchell and the Pottawattamie chiefs to settle on both sides of the river. Brigham's earlier plan to winter at Grand Island, some 150 miles to the west among the Pawnees, was abandoned when it became obvious that it was taking too long to ferry the hundreds of wagons across the Missouri. Also, there was a better prospect for getting winter supplies from Sarpy's trading post and from St. Joseph and other towns along the Missouri.

More than half of the Saints crossed to the west side of the river into Indian country at Sarpy's ferry or used a hurriedly built ferry opposite present site of Florence, settling first in Cold Springs about four miles northwest of the Sarpy's ferry and 15 miles north of Bellevue. By early August a more acceptable campsite was found on higher ground fourteen miles further north, which they named Cutler's Park after the high council president, Alpheus Cutler. The leaders began negotiations with the resident Indians, the warring Omaha and Oto tribes, to settle in the area for at least two years. The Omaha's saw this as protection against their enemies, the Sioux. After the negotiations, the camp was moved a short distance to where Winter Quarters sprang up, Nebraska's first city. The quality of their homes varied widely from large sturdy two-story houses with solid floors to cabin shanties without doors or floors and questionable roofs, to dugouts in the nearby bluff. Some of the larger houses were shared by several families.



Map is from Richard E. Bennett, Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852 "And Should We Die."

After Brigham decided not to move on to the Rocky Mountains that year, the refugees who were clustered around Miller's Hollow (later Council Bluffs) fanned out into the surrounding area, half of them establishing Winter Quarters across the Missouri River in Nebraska and the other half scattering up and down the Iowa side near streams and timber, up and down Mosquito Creek, Keg Creek, Silver Creek, Pigeon Creek, and their tributary streams.

There were at least as many Mormons inhabiting the Iowa side of the river in various locations as settled in Winter Quarters in Nebraska. A large number of emigrants lived among the remaining Pottawattamies on the east side during the winter of 1846-7, living in shacks of cottonwood, caves in the bluffs, log cabins in the groves and glens--wherever there was shelter, fuel, and water.

Bathsheba Smith

Bathsheba Smith, who was among the Saints in Winter Quarters, wrote that they had to travel 150 miles[90] to get bread, mostly made of corn, from Missouri. Fortunately, it was cheap and plentiful. Scurvy was frequent and there were many deaths. Most of the cattle of the camp were sent 70 miles up the river to winter on the rushes which grew there.

Winter Quarters was officially established on September 23, 1846. Word came the next day of the Battle of Nauvoo, and Brigham Young dispatched 12 teams to rescue refugees who were camped across the Mississippi from Nauvoo at Sugar Creek, including Mary Fielding Smith. Since the settlers on the Iowa side of the Missouri had settled in earlier than those on the west side of the river, they tended to be the ones assigned to go back to Nauvoo to help the "poor camp" make their way to Garden Grove or Mt. Pisgah. The relief party arrived at Sugar Creek October 9. The first company to return was under Captain Orville M. Allen with 157 people in 28 wagons. James Murdock and Allen Taylor followed with 25 more teams, but only a handful of the poor made it all the way back to the Missouri that year.

Frederick Kesler

That fall Frederick Kesler, the Batemans' former neighbor in Augusta, built a flour mill on Turkey Creek, close to the head of the main street of Winter Quarters. Archibald Gardner provided the large timbers.[91] By the end of the year, Winter Quarters consisted of 538 log cabins, 83 sod houses and a population of 3,483. By far their richest resource was the Mormons' herd of cattle. The people also sustained themselves with small industry--willow baskets, for example. The Seventies quorums built a "basket factory" which was a sod hut of 20 x 14 feet, where in January 1847 thirty men made willow baskets, washboards, bushel and half-bushel baskets, and tables for trade in Missouri in exchange for grain and other necessities. Some men landed fur-hauling contracts with Sarpy and Indian agents. Others contracted with the Federal Government to transport the displaced Pottawattamie Indians to their new home on the Kansas River.

Advance payments for the Mormon Battalion were pooled and then spent for food and other supplies for the population. The Church sent pick-up teams to St. Louis for these purchases. Prices were high and freighting costs still higher. The next spring on April 4, 1847, John Taylor arrived at Winter Quarters from his mission in England via New Orleans and St. Louis with 469 gold sovereigns of British tithing and $500 worth of instruments for the journey west—telescopes, barometers, thermometers, sextants, etc. Just three days later Brigham Young's party, including Taylor, set out for the Great Basin, leaving behind 4,000 people at Winter Quarters.

[90] Bathsheba must have been referring to St. Joseph, which is approximately 150 miles from Winter Quarters.
[91] Gardner would play a major role in the founding of West Jordan to be discussed later.

Frederick Kesler, looking for work, went down the Missouri side of the river, but found none until he reached Kansas City. By October he had taken his family clear to Texas where he put in a waterwheel and flour mills.

July 24, 1847, the first party of pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley.

By September Brigham Young and two wagon companies were already on their way back to Winter Quarters to organize a bigger expedition for the next spring.

In November it became apparent that the Mormons would need to move out of Indian territory in Nebraska, so the Saints in Winter Quarter began plans to move east across the Missouri River to Kanesville, which had formerly been called Millers Hollow. (It became Council Bluffs in 1852 when the Mormons officially pulled out.) Brigham Young, who until then had been leading the Mormons by authority of his position as Senior Apostle, was named Church President two days after Christmas in Kanesville with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as counselors. This was later ratified in the Bowery in Great Salt Lake City and in Manchester, England. Uncle John Smith was appointed patriarch and replaced by Charles C. Rich as stake president.

On February 2, 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed ending the Mexican War, which ceded California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona to the United States. The same month Mormon emigration from England resumed after a three-year pause. 146 people arrived at Kanesville on board the steamboat *Mustang* on May 12. Another 6,130 Britons would arrive by the end of 1852.

On June 5, 1848, Zions Camp, the massive second wave of pioneers, set out for the Valley divided into three companies. Brigham Young's group was the largest and first to leave with 1,220 people in 397 wagons, the largest wagon train ever, and as large as the second two companies combined. It contained his own large family and a significant number of "the poor." The second company, led by Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman, left two days later and from Loup Fork[92] on, travelled in tandem with Brigham's, followed on July 3 by Heber C. Kimball's group. Each company was divided into 100s, 50s, and 10s.[93] Joseph and Margaret Bateman with their 17-year-old daughter Margaret were in Lorenzo Snow's 100, which consisted of 321 people in 99 wagons. According to their son William's biographical sketch, he was also in the Lorenzo Snow Company having left his wife Sarah Lavender and children behind. If so, he left just a week before his son Samuel's death, but I think this is incorrect.[94]

Although Joseph's wife Margaret had birthed six children, two had died in England and two more as married adults in Augusta, so they had only two remaining. About three months after the Joseph Bateman family arrived in the Valley, young Margaret married Dennis Winn at Robert Pixton's new adobe one-room house on East Temple Street. Winn had been a member of the Mormon Battalion with Pixton and had returned that fall via Sutter's Fort in California.

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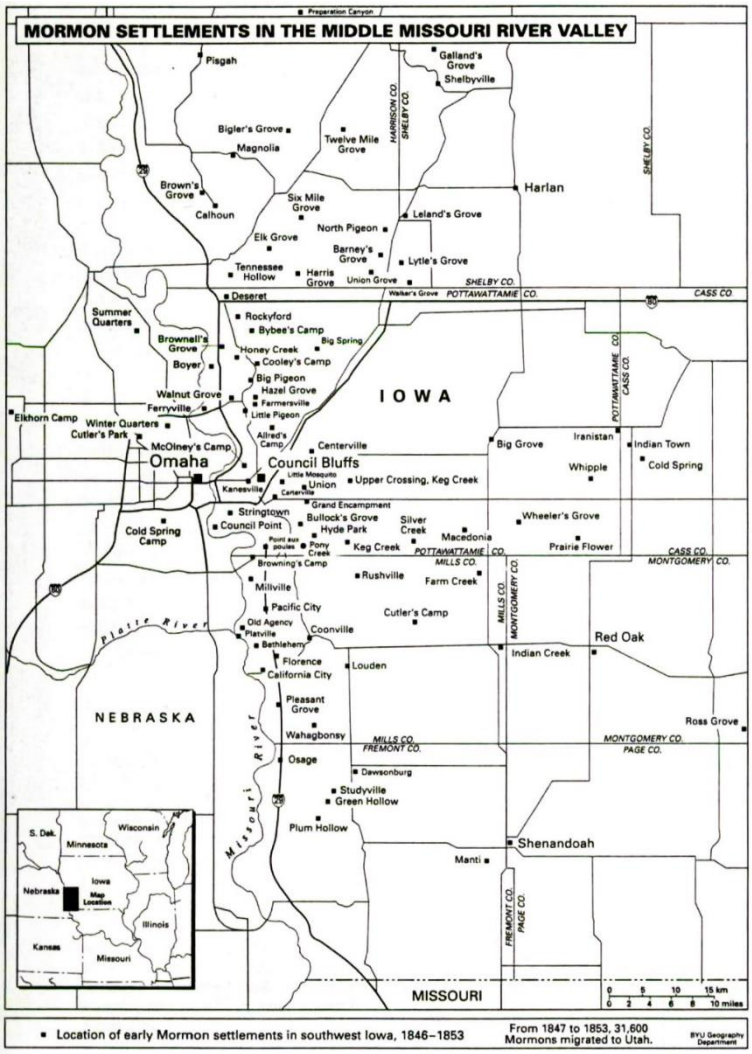
[92] Loup Fork was 114 miles west of Winter Quarters.

[93] The sizes of these groups were actually much different from their names. For example, Joseph Hovey's "10" consisted of 11 males, 6 females, and 11 wagons. A month later it was enlarged to 33 males, 28 females, and 25 wagons.

[94] William is not included on the list of pioneers in the Brigham Young party Mormon Pioneer Travel Database but is on the list of Allen Taylor's Company along with his wife and children. In *Heart Throbs of the West*, Vol. 9, page 472, William is listed in the Brigham Young Company as part of Joseph's family, but so are James and Mary, who were long dead by this time. I think this erroneous entry is the source of the belief that William crossed twice.



From Historical Atlas of Mormonism, *by S. Kent Brown, et al* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), map 37. *Reprinted by permission of The Gale Group.*

By mid-March the remaining Winter Quarters residents had moved back across the Missouri River through the spring and early summer, most settling in and about Kanesville and northward along Pigeon Creek. Winter Quarters people, new immigrants from England, and stragglers from Nauvoo and eastern Iowa were filling up a wide area around Kanesville, sparking an expansion of the small satellite settlements. "Strictly they were not villages, or even hamlets, but merely the collection within easy distance of Kanesville of a handful of farmhouses in a grove on a creek, with a school or church, and perhaps a mill or trader's stock."[95]

> …The proliferation of hamlets in the area in 1848 far exceeded anything seen before. Many gathered up from Nauvoo and other places that summer and made heavy settlements in all directions on the good land that abounds in the country. Several of these clusters operated their own horse- or water-powered grist mills. By midsummer 1848 twenty-four branches representing small settlements were in operation. Three months later another seven were added to the list, and by year's end over forty existed. A branch president managed local affairs

[95] Richard E. Bennett, Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852 "And Should We Die." University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, p.216.

> in his area and reported directly to the Pottawattamie High Council. Circuit riders, high councilmen, seventies, even apostles visited the outlying communities on a regularly assigned basis to preserve unity.[96]

As many as 90 temporary Mormon settlements in Pottawattamie, Harrison, and Mills counties have been identified where Mormon immigrants settled for up to six years before going on to Utah. And of these many never left but became part of the permanent Iowa towns that followed the settlements.

During the winter and spring of 1848-49 the apostles George A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson were living in the settlement of Big Pigeon, which is located about 42 miles northeast of Kanesville. I have found no historical writing to support this assertion, but by luck I happened to find a copy of the tithing records from 1848 to 1852 from that little branch at the Church History Library in Salt Lake City.[97] There were no entries for the Batemans (evidently, they didn't pay tithing), but it is interesting to see who did. Significant contributions were made by George A. Smith in October 1848 and in February and June of 1849, so he likely lived there. So did Ezra T. Benson, who paid tithing multiple times between October 1848 and December 1849, so their time in Big Pigeon overlapped the Batemans.[98] Both apostles had been part of the vanguard party to the Valley two years earlier but returned to lead more companies west.

On May 28, 1849, a smallish train of about 100 wagons set out west from Kanesville led by Orson Spencer and Samuel Gully. In it were two gentile travelers who were returning to the Valley after having established a small mercantile store in Salt Lake City the prior year. They had a new store under construction and were on their way from St. Louis with two wagons full of merchandise, three employees, two horses, four mules, and six oxen. Their names were Livingston and Kinkead, and before long they would be dealing with Thomas Bateman. While they were still underway Samuel Gully, one of the wagon masters, sent the following message ahead to Brigham Young:

> *Messrs. [James A] Livingston & [John Henry] Kinkead is now with us, with the Goods mentioned in my former letter, and they wish me to renew the wish for you to have them a House ready for them to put their Goods in when they arrive. They are extremely anxious to return to St. Louis this fall in order that they make an early start the next spring with at least one Hundred thousand Dollars' worth of Goods. The season is now so far advanced that they fear if they have to go through to the Valley & then have to retail them out, it will be too late for them to return and they are therefore willing to sell them sooner if possible and say if you or any other person will meet them this side of the South Pass they would sell them for much less than they would in the Valley say at least five thousand Dollars. They have with them near $30,000 at St. Louis cost consisting of a Genl. Stock of Dry Goods, a very heavy stock of Hardware for building purposes, with Groceries &c &c.*

It is possible that the Thomas Bateman family had arrived from Augusta at the Mormon settlements in western Iowa before Livingston and Kinkead departed. If so, their relationship could have begun then. In any case, the Batemans arrived well before June 30, for that is when their last child, Margaret was

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[96] Bennett page 217.

[97] The bishop of Big Pigeon was Uriah Curtis in 1848 and Aaron Johnson in December 1849.

[98] George A. Smith left Big Pigeon permanently in June 1849 to put together his wagon company, but there is evidence the Ezra T. Benson may have been living there in 1853.

born in Big Pigeon.[99] Mary Bateman was 40. It appears that the family spent little or no time in Kanesville, first settling briefly in McClellan's camp at Little Pigeon, and then moving on to Big Pigeon near Cooley's Mill for the winter. Several Bateman histories suggest that they had intended to go directly to the Great Basin that summer, but that Thomas allowed Elder George A. Smith to take his best yoke of oxen[100] to the Valley, so they settled in Iowa. Further proof that the Batemans were in Big Pigeon at the latest by June is that Smith left his encampment that month to prepare for his trip to the Valley.

A month later Thomas' nephew William Bateman and his wife Sarah with their children Emma, age seven, William Henry, age four, Thomas, age three, and Mary Ann, age three months departed from Kanesville with the Allen Taylor Company.

George A. Smith set out with Thomas Bateman's oxen and wagon for Deseret in July leading a company of 217 people in partnership with the little Welshman Dan Jones, the former captain of the *Maid of Iowa*, whom the Batemans had undoubtedly known in Augusta. Their company traveled in tandem with the Ezra T. Benson Company.

According to one source, Samuel and Thomas engaged in brick making in 1849 about three miles from their home on Big Pigeon Creek near Cooley's mills.[101] Thomas' son Samuel later wrote that the family had a hard time financially in Big Pigeon but made money transporting goods up and down the river. Freighting was actually a back-up plan for the Batemans, for according to several of the Bateman histories, Thomas had bought a mill from a man named John W. Cooley, but the deal went sour and nearly bankrupted them.[102] This probably took place in the fall of 1849, since it was after the family had collected enough wood for the winter that they sold a farm they had bought in Big Pigeon in order to buy the mill.

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[99] Margaret was always called Maggie. Her birthplace is given as Council Bluffs, but this is an approximation. It had to be Big Pigeon, for that is where George A. Smith bought Thomas Bateman's oxen and wagon and left in June to prepare his wagon train.

[100] I'll confess I was a bit skeptical about this story. One Bateman biographer states that Elder Smith took *two* yoke of oxen "without pay." Did the young apostle simply commandeer the oxen? Did the Batemans do him a favor because of his office or because he was the son of "Uncle" John Smith, their former stake president? I found no mention of the episode in George A. Smith's detailed journal, but the answer came from the journal of his wife Bathsheba, who wrote: "In June we left our encampment and prepared to migrate with the last company of that year. My husband had charge of immigration but found it difficult to obtain the necessary outfit for each of our families. (Smith had several wives.) It would have been impossible for any of us to go had it not been for the money and property left me by my mother, when she succumbed to the hardships of Winter Quarters. This I freely gave to my husband to satisfy the needs of his large family so that he was able to purchase equipment for this journey." This supports the family story and suggests that the Bateman wagon and oxen were bought, not commandeered.

[101] *The Life and Times of Samuel Bateman*, edited by Mark Burkinshaw, p. 105.

[102] Cooley was born in Oswego, New York but married his first wife in Newcastle, Ontario, Canada across Lake Ontario, where their first child was born. He was baptized there and ordained an elder on the same day and had moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where he was living on January 15, 1841, when he was mentioned in Elders Quorum minutes, so he would have been living in Kirtland when Thomas' brother, Samuel Bateman, arrived with the 17 families from Manchester who didn't have sufficient funds to reach Nauvoo. Cooley's wife Hannah was expecting their second child when she died in Cincinnati after a carriage accident in 1843. He took his seven-year-old daughter to Nauvoo, where he was ordained a Seventy and later travelled to Iowa and built his mill in Big Pigeon.

Apparently, Cooley repossessed the mill after the deal with Batemans fell through, but it turned out to be a catastrophe for him as well, providing a measure of poetic justice. A letter[103] found its way to Brigham Young through a mutual acquaintance named Br. Johnson,[104] which sheds some light on the mill story, but raises additional questions. The letter is dated June 20, 1850, about six months after the deal fell through. Here is a shortened version (spelling corrected for ease of reading):

John W. Cooley

> *Br. Johnson, Sir it is with feelings of reluctance that I send these lines to you, but necessity constrains me to do so. The boiler has bursted and I am broke in part or bent badly. If you was here I could tell you of some sidehill turns that would make you cry like a child…After I had paid him* (Bateman?) *$300 then (he) says that it was not according to law, and he wouldn't stand to it. So it is in such shape that no one will buy it… We did look for some help from the mill, but that has all blasted.*
>
> *Respectfully yours, brother and friend, John W. Cooley.*[105]
>
> *…Tell Br. Brigham that I shall do as he told me about the mill fixtures in bringing them on and shall be at his service.*

Because the mill had a boiler to burst, it was a steam-powered mill, not a waterwheel. It is not clear whether it produced flour or lumber. The fact that he lost $300 because of legal issues suggests that Cooley may not have had a clear title to the property, which could explain why the Batemans lost their own money after buying it.

Young Samuel Bateman went to live with Joseph Thorn's family[106] in Missouri for a time to find work. He was able to attend some formal schooling while hiring out to townspeople to herd cattle and to deliver steamboat freight to St. Joseph.

During October General Conference that year in Great Salt Lake City several of the apostles were called on missions to Europe. On October 19 John Taylor left for a mission in France with Lorenzo Snow (Italy), Erastus Snow, (Denmark), and F. D. Richards (England), and 35 others. According to a letter written by John Taylor to the *Frontier Guardian*, the Kanesville newspaper, among the travelers were A. O. Smoot and his business partner Jedediah M. Grant, Charles Decker, Col. John Reese, merchant of New York,

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[103] Church History Library, Call Number 1234_1.

[104] Probably Aaron Johnson, who served as Branch President of Big Pigeon in 1849 and as a Captain of 50 in 1850.

[105] Cooley did not leave Big Pigeon immediately, in fact, he stayed there about two years longer than the Bateman family. In 1853 the apostle Ezra T. Benson referred to Cooley as "Captain of the first Big Pigeon Branch of 230 souls." Cooley was not the bishop. Perhaps Benson was referring to his role in the Miller/Cooley Company of saints immigrating to Zion which departed June 9, 1853.[105]

[106] Joseph Thorn and his extended family, including several married brothers and sisters, lived in Big Pigeon. His sister Elizabeth was married to Uria Curtis, the bishop of the settlement. I could find no evidence of any of them living in Missouri. However multiple accounts support Samuel's brief schooling in St. Joseph. Most of the extended Thorn family went west with the miller John W. Cooley's pioneer company in 1853.

John H. Kinkead, the merchant headed for St. Louis, and Antonio S. Duval, Mr. Kinkead's driver. John Pack[107] and Curtis E. Bolton were the other two missionaries called to France.

Around December Thomas began transporting goods up and down the Missouri River to support his family. He happened to be in Kanesville to witness the celebration when the missionaries arrived there.

One of John Taylors missionary companions to France, Curtis Bolton, kept a journal of their travels. He wrote: "Crossed the river on the tenth, drove 10-15 miles to Kanesville. Mr. Kinkade, Col. Reese, and Charles Decker here left us for Saint Louis." When the missionaries reached Kanesville they were met with demonstrations of delight. Guns were fired and entertainments were prepared for their enjoyment. John Taylor[108] later wrote to his wife that he spent three weeks there before several of their company set out for St. Louis, "traveling leisurely, studying French" along the way. But he did not tell her exactly how they got there. Here is the story of his trip.

Mr. Kinkade and his companions took a boat down the river to St. Louis, which was 450 miles away, but river travel was not for the missionaries. When traveling with ten others down that same Missouri River to the same destination nearly two decades earlier, William W. Phelps "in open vision by daylight" had seen the Destroyer in his most horrible power ride upon the face of the waters; others heard the noise but saw not the vision."[109] These missionaries were going to travel by land.

Bolton's entry in his journal for December 29 reads:

> *(We) bid farewell to the people of Kanesville and started for St. Louis in a wagon in the company with Bro. Taylor, Pack, and Thomas Bateman (the last wanted to go to St. Louis so he furnished a horse and agreed to drive). I had a light one-horse wagon with projections, cover, sheet iron stove, closed in front, and a side door. And two pretty white horses. As we traveled along our means increased by gifts from the brethren.*

Bolton continued:

> *Stopped five days at "Evans Camp" being 40 miles from St. Joseph, with a few families of the Saints. Stopped one day at St. Joseph[110] and one day at Weston. The journey from thence to St. Louis was rough and tedious. The last 150 miles we walked almost the whole way as there was a thaw, and mud was hub deep in the lanes.*

They arrived in St. Louis on January 26, 1850. After six weeks in a wagon together, Thomas and the missionaries must have gotten to know each other well. John Taylor was surprised and delighted to find several L.D.S. branches at St. Louis with a total of over 3,000 members. Upon arrival, Taylor wrote to his wife in Salt Lake City, reporting that he had been treated to celebrations and receptions. The Saints had a magnificent hall and a splendid band. Saints and friends had flocked around him like bees, anxious to promote his happiness. Many Saints had fled down the Mississippi to St. Louis from the mobbing of

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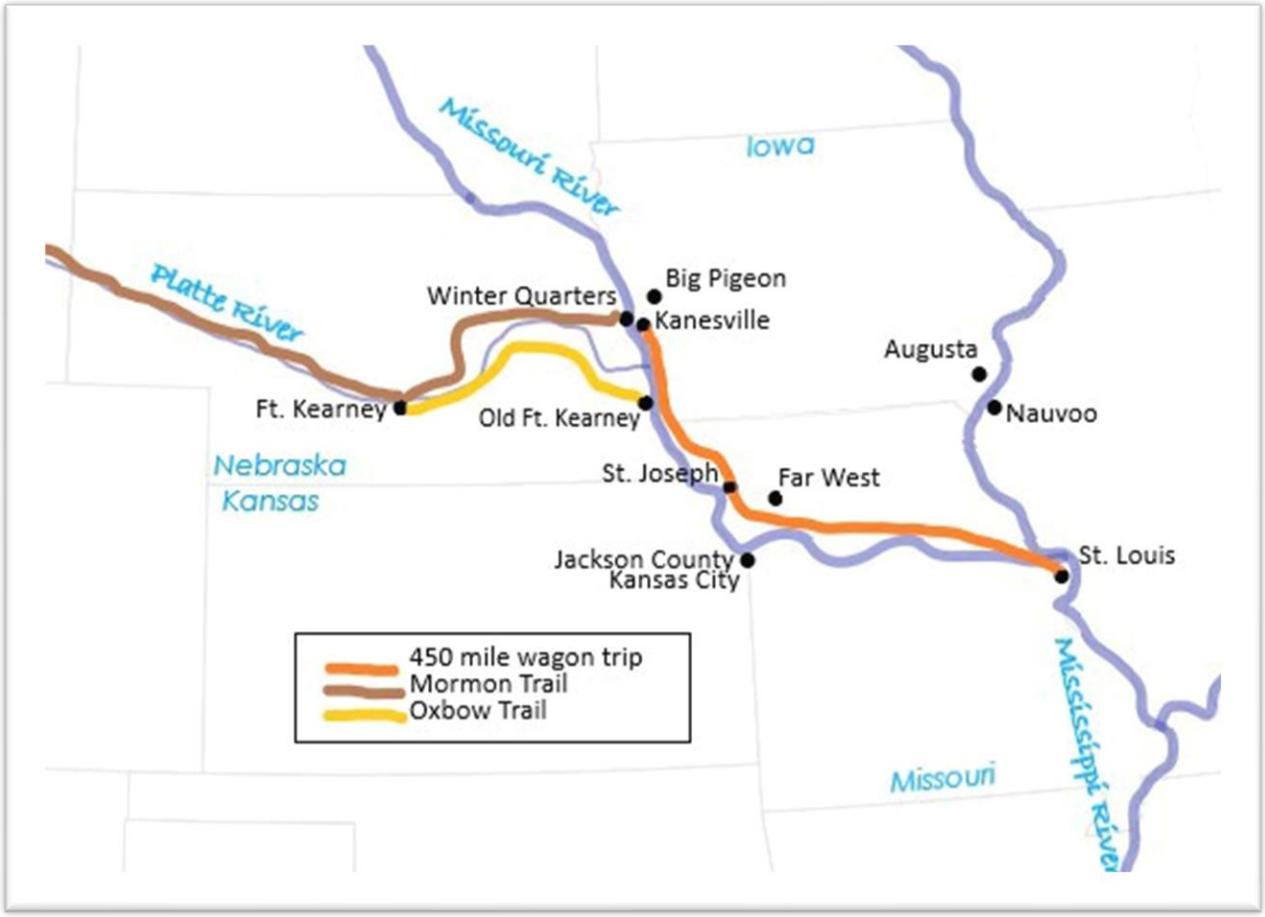
[107] It was a building owned by Pack which had served as the first mercantile store of Livingston and Kinkead.
[108] John Taylor's wife Leonora lived in the Salt Lake 14th ward, the same ward where Joseph Bateman lived. They would have known each other.
[109] History of the Church 1:202-3. Doctrine and Covenants 61:14-19. Since that time, Mormon missionaries had avoided river travel.
[110] St. Joseph is about 46 miles straight west of Far West--the Mormons would have known it well. Independence (Jackson County) was about 56 miles south of Far West. They would not as likely stopped there.

Nauvoo. In fact, St. Louis had also been a friendly haven for the refugees from Jackson County in 1833 and Caldwell/Daviess counties in 1839. Of the 70,000 Mormon pioneers to the Great Basin between 1847 and 1857, 22,000 went through St. Louis. Many, especially English Converts stopped there for a prolonged time, some permanently, on their way to Zion.[111]



Map of the travels of Thomas Bateman in 1850

John Taylor began holding meetings to outline a plan for immigration[112] trains in the 1850 season.[113] This probably included creating Thomas' role in a train for the Livingston and Kinkead Mercantile Company. Abraham O. Smoot and Jedediah M. Grant were partners in a private Salt Lake freighting company and probably traveled from Deseret with John H. Kinkaid in John Taylor's company for this very purpose. One of the drivers who later accompanied the Batemans, John Mills, identified Smoot as the captain of the wagon company, and Thomas Bateman was hired to be captain over 10 freight wagons.

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[111] In 1854 St. Louis became the 16th Stake of Zion and one of only two outside Utah, with Erastus Snow the Stake President. In 1857 a cholera epidemic closed the ports and the stake disbanded with most of the leaders moved west. For a time, Brigham Young had designated St. Louis the trailhead for overland pioneers. Ref: Fred E. Woods and Thomas L. Farmer, *When the Saints Came Marching In: A History of the Latter-day Saints in St. Louis*, (Orem, Utah: Millennial Press, 2009.

[112] Taylor had been in charge of emigration from England in 1840, which would also have made him familiar with St. Louis, a stop for all British immigrants on the way to Nauvoo.

[113] According to Phillip Margetts.

Twenty additional wagons were to be under the direction of Feramorz Little, who had been working as a grocer in St. Louis.[114]

John Taylor wrote to his wife again on February 18, the evening before his departure, letting her know he had arranged for a wagonload of goods to be sent to her, care of Brother Hoagland.[115] Taylor stayed in St. Louis three weeks and had spent three weeks in Kanesville as well. The next day he was on a steamboat headed for Tennessee from where he would go to Washington, then New York, and on to France.[116] He wrote that his trip to the east was "uneventful."[117] But a lot of work remained for the men in St. Louis. There was freight to order, wagons and teams to assemble, and drivers to hire.

Among the new drivers was a promising young man who had just arrived from England named Phillip Margetts, who had pulled into the harbor at St. Louis on March 24 aboard the steamboat *Uncle Sam* with his mother, sister, two brothers, and 400 other immigrants. They had labored upstream from New Orleans for 13 days after a long voyage from Liverpool.

Phillip was 21 years old, the son of a railroad contractor.[118] His mother Alice had joined the Church in 1841 when he was 12, and he and three of his four teenage brothers joined shortly afterwards. His father, who died in 1842 of consumption (tuberculosis), was evidently not baptized a Mormon, but his funeral service was attended by his close friend Lorenzo Snow, who preached the sermon. Phillip was a railroad engineer on the London/Birmingham line and others. He had been a member of the Mormon Church for about eight years by the time he arrived in New Orleans.

Phillip wrote that as soon as he and his older brother Henry signed up as drivers, the men in the freight expedition proceeded up the river to St. Joseph from where Phillip and Henry were to drive a herd of cattle up the river to Kanesville.[119] While waiting for the cattle he got a job running a grist mill engine for a few days. The rest of the party picked up freight to take across the plains, which had been left in

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[114]Feramorz Little (understandably, he went by "Ferry") had come to St. Louis from New York to join his mother, who was Brigham Young's sister Susannah, after a 10 year separation. She and Little's stepfather, William Stilson, had been there in the army when he died in 1844 of "lung fever." After Stilson's death, Susannah moved to Nauvoo, but when Nauvoo was attacked in 1846, she and her daughter returned to St. Louis with a new husband named Alonzo Pettengill, a shoemaker, but he died of lung fever in St. Louis in February 1849. That spring Feramorz's brother James took the two women to Kanesville to stay with her two brothers, Phineas and Joseph Young, and their families, but Little remained in St. Louis. Feramorz was a nephew of Brigham and also his brother-in-law, having married Fannie Decker in 1846, the sister of two of Brigham's wives. Little was not yet a member of the Church and had intended to go on to the gold fields in California, but when he stopped in Utah he was baptized, stayed, and eventually became bishop of the 13th Ward in 1852 and had an illustrious career as a Utah businessman. He served two terms as mayor of Salt Lake City.

[115] Abraham Hoagland was a bishop's counselor in the Taylors' 14th ward where Joseph Bateman and his family also lived. Hoagland was married to Agnes Taylor, John's sister. Hoagland lived on the SW corner of First West and Second South, kitty-corner to Joseph Bateman.

[116] After a change in plans, he went first to Liverpool.

[117] One of his companions, Elder Bolton, stayed about seven weeks total in St. Louis before going directly to NYC on the steamer *North River*. He stopped in Pittsburg along the way and finally arrived in NYC to meet the other two missionaries April 18th. After Bolton suffered a severe ankle sprain, they sailed May 4.

[118] Phillip's grandfather was a third-generation coachbuilder and wheelwright. The family was from Oxfordshire, but he had been raised in London.

[119] Phillip's mother and two siblings Richard and Ann went together without him and Henry to Kanesville, and later to Utah in the John Brown company in 1851. His brother George was married and did not come with them to America. George Margetts and his family immigrated from England in 1851, died in Chicago sometime after 1860.

St. Joseph, and transported them on up the river. Phillip wrote that it was there that he met Elizabeth Bateman, his future wife.[120] He then helped to drive the cattle to Kanesville, where he met Thomas Bateman with his family. They must have gone together from there to Big Pigeon to move the family out. Phillip later wrote:[121]

> We were all set to work preparing for the journey west. Yokes had to be made, bows prepared, chains overhauled, etc., etc. The family wagon had to be attended to. So, when all was made ready for the start and the women and children located, we left Big Pigeon, the late home of Bro. Bateman, and wended our way to Council Point and camped on the bank of the wide Missouri River. The wagons which Brother Bateman had ordered, and which were to take us to Salt Lake were being made at Carterville[122] some distance from where we camped. They were soon finished, and we had considerable pains to say nothing of hard times hitching up the wild cattle for the trip. Now my friends imagine if you can a man with a large family to look after, new wagons, wild cattle, and a lot of green English boys to handle them starting out on a journey of over a thousand miles, which was enough to discourage anyone. But Thomas Bateman had courage and will power and was equal to the task.

Thomas' eleven freight wagons were brought to Council Point, which is just outside Kanesville, hitched to the wild cattle, and driven empty for 50 miles to the head of the trail west where the freight from St. Louis was waiting. There were 20 more wagons in the Livingston and Kinkead Company supervised by Feramorz Little, who likely joined them at Old Fort Kearney, and there could have been several other captains of ten or more wagons in this train. The owners, James Livingston and John Kinkead, were not with the group, having arrived in Salt Lake City two months ahead of their freight company with another merchant from St. Louis named Miles Beach to open their new store and prepare for the massive shipment of goods. They bought an ad in the *Deseret News* on August 24:

> *Livingston and Kinkead would inform their friends and citizens of this valley they have returned from the "states" and have 60 wagons on the road with assorted merchandise.*

This was a significant undertaking. The wagon master for the entire group was the professional freighter Abraham O. Smoot, who had traveled with Kinkead from Great Salt Lake City the previous fall with John Taylor and his missionaries. Smoot, then 34 years old, had captained two prior groups in a single train in 1847 and would also bring groups across in 1852 and 1856, so he was a veteran.[123] His

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[120] While Thomas was involved with John Taylor, his 17-year-old son Samuel continued his river transport business, making two trips from Kanesville to St. Joseph's on his own. If Phillip met Elizabeth in St. Joseph, she must have accompanied Samuel on one of his trips. Life and Times of Thomas Bateman p.106.

[121] Phillip Margetts Collection, Papers 1850-1928, MSS 406, B.Y.U. Library.

[122] Carterville no longer exists but was rediscovered in 1902 when a pioneer cemetery was unearthed by a railroad project. It was located in present day Garner Township, Iowa, which is about three miles east of Council Bluffs and 10 miles northeast of Council Point, from where the Batemans were preparing to embark. Dominicus Carter, a blacksmith who advertised wagon and buggy wheel ironing, may have been the maker of the Bateman wagons. The settlement was probably named after him. In its heyday Carterville was the home of the apostle Luke Johnson and of Brigham Young's brothers Joseph and Phineus Young. See Shauna C. Anderson Young, *Rediscovery of a Cemetery: The Carterville, Iowa Story*, The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal, Vol.35, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2015), pp. 104-148.

[123] Smoot had three wives (actually only two at the time--one left him soon after their marriage and never left Nauvoo), one of which was Almira Emily Hill, sister of my third great grandmother, Mary Hill Crismon. His biography states that he always went with trains that he promoted, many to the gold fields. He took 13 "business

business partner, Jedediah M. Grant who had also been with the Taylor group, also took a company back to the Valley that summer which was probably part of the Livingston Kinkead company.[124] The Pioneer Database lists only one fellow traveler in Grant's group named John Martin,[125] but his company probably contained many teamsters and wagons. Grant started out at Bethlehem Ferry, about 20 miles north of Old Fort Kearney, but took a cut-off trail from which he could have quickly joined the Smoot group including the Batemans. There is much that we do not know about the Livingston and Kinkaid freight train of 1850. The Pioneer Database shows only 16 travelers of which 10 are members of the Bateman family. Only eight of the 16 travelers were capable of driving a wagon if the two Bateman boys Thomas and Joseph, ages 12 and 14, are counted, yet Kinkead advertised 60 wagons in the *Deseret News*, so many of the drivers' names are not known. Henry and Phillip Margetts are also not listed in the company by the database although they were clearly involved.[126]

Thomas did not set out on the pioneer trail from Council Point but drove his family wagon and the eleven freight wagons 50 miles south to the beginning of the so-called Oxbow trail.[127] In early 1850, Church leaders had advised emigrants that pioneer companies should travel on a new route on the south side of the Platte River to avoid some river crossings on the north side which had proved dangerous in high water the previous year. The group expected to receive additional military protection on a new army supply road, wanting to avoid conflict with the Plains Indians, who had been agitated during the 1849 California gold rush. The 200-mile-long army road connected "Old Fort Kearny," located 50 miles below Kanesville on the Missouri River, to "New Fort Kearny" following the south side of the Platte River to the west. Several years later during a cholera outbreak in Florence the Oxbow Trail became the main Mormon route known as the Mormon Road.

OLD FORT KEARNEY BLOCK HOUSE AT NEBRASKA CITY. *(Drawing by Miss Martha Turner.)*

Phillip wrote further,

> We crossed the Missouri River at Old Fort Kearney on a flat boat. This adventure came near putting an end to all our future troubles, as we were nearly upset into the river. But Fortune

trips" in all. He had been a bishop in Winter Quarters and was later Bishop of the Salt Lake 15th ward. Smoot succeeded his partner Jedediah M. Grant as second mayor of Salt Lake City (Grant was elected in 1851 and died 1856), and then was called to Provo, where he was President of B.Y.A. (later B.Y.U.), mayor, and bishop all at once beginning in 1868. He died there in 1895 at the age of 80.

[124] https://history.churchofjesuschrist.org/overlandtravel/companies/380/jedediah-m-grant-freight-train-1850

[125] John Martin is in interesting character, a former chimney sweep whose widowed mother had been a match girl. He became a Mormon at age 14 and worked his way to America as a ship's cook before signing up with Grant as a teamster.

[126] Henry and Phillip Margetts are listed in the Pioneer Database in an artificial "Company Unknown 1850" of people assigned to unidentified companies. Probably the 20 or so additional drivers required to the Livingston and Kinkead Company are in this group.

[127] https://cdrhsites.unl.edu/diggingin/trailsummaries/di.sum.0003.html

> favored us, and after going down stream for considerable distance, we finally landed. This place is now known as Nebraska City. At the time I speak of, there was nothing in sight but the Old Log Fort, which had been deserted years before.

Old Fort Kearney had been erected for soldiers coming home from the Mexican War and then abandoned. In 1848 its name was given to the new Fort Kearney, formerly Fort Childs, 200 miles west in the Platte Valley. Margetts continued,

> This was then "Indian Territory" with game of all descriptions close at hand. Here is where our work as pioneers began, and where I began to know Br. Bateman as a man of no ordinary ability, but a man I learned to love for his many virtues, namely honesty, righteousness, and forbearance, also his wife as one of the most self-sacrificing, patient, motherly woman it was ever my good fortune to become acquainted with. The next thing to be done was to load the freight into the wagons for the journey.

The Livingston and Kinkead train left Old Fort Kearney on June 11, 1850, experiencing a rough start, as Phillip Margetts put it, due to "four broken wagon tongues caused by the wild unbroken cattle, bad roads, and stupid drivers."

On June 29 Lewis Wight's family, including Thomas and Mary's oldest daughter Harriet and her husband Lyman Wight with two little girls, set out from the Bethlehem Ferry on the Oxbow trail. They also had freight wagons, but those had been ordered by Brigham Young.

I will not repeat the details of the Batemans' crossing of the prairie—these have been well-described in the various family histories, and I have little to add to them. However, I would like to mention one detail. Some histories state the Batemans arrived in Deseret with the James Pace Company, which left about the same time from the Bethlehem Ferry 20 miles up the river. It seems likely that there was interaction between the two groups on the way, since they left and arrived about the same time and would have been on the same trail after the first hundred miles, but I have read all the known trail diaries associated with the Pace Company and have seen no references to Batemans or to the Livingston and Kinkead group.

Phillip wrote that on August 13, "trouble occurred with some of the teamsters and Kinkade, which resulted in Henry Margetts, myself, and Edward Williams leaving the train… We suffered considerable during our nineteen-day walk after we left the company…with a hope of strengthening the supplies of the others and to overtake, if possible, a train, and thus facilitate our onward march." With very little food the three men arrived September 1, 1850, well ahead of Thomas Bateman and his family. Accounts of the date the Batemans arrived range between September 15 to September 27, the latter reported by Phillip Margetts. The Pioneer Database gives September 23.

Sometime in 1847 Thomas Bateman's brother Samuel moved from Ohio to join him in Augusta, but he did not accompany Thomas and his family to Big Pigeon in the spring of 1849, since he appears in the 1850 census in Augusta on October 25 listed as a laborer, the usual designation for brickmakers. It seems likely that he made his way with his family to Kanesville soon afterward. An article in the Council Bluffs newspaper *Frontier Guardian* appeared in Council Bluffs on Christmas Day, 1850 with a list of persons who had been sent for by the authorities of the Church in the Valley to be sent on by the Poor Fund agents. Those on the list whose temporal condition had improved and widows who had recently married were instructed to proceed on their own. The rest were to be "…ready to move out by the first

of May, (to) supply their own wagons, and the Poor Fund agents (would) furnish them teams, cows, etc." Any who had been disfellowshipped or excluded from the Church were ineligible. There is a difference between the Lord's poor and the Devil's poor.

Among the forty-one names on the poor fund list was Thomas' brother "Samuel Bateman of Augusta, Iowa." I suspect that one of his brothers in Utah arranged to get him onto it. Since his name was associated with Augusta, perhaps he had not yet arrived at Kanesville or perhaps he had become ineligible, but in either case he did not take advantage of the opportunity and never went west.

Samuel's seventh child, Henry William Bateman was born in Boomer Township, Iowa November 20, 1852, about five miles north of Big Pigeon where Thomas had lived. Samuel lived the rest of his life in Boomer Township farming. According to note in *Family Search*, he joined the RLDS Boomer Branch on June 2, 1860, along with his children Joseph, Thomas, Mary Ann, James, and Henry.[128] He died at the age of 81 and was buried at Honey Creek. Perhaps Samuel decided not to go to Utah after hearing of his brother Thomas' run-in with Brigham Young.[129]

The only member of Samuel's family to ever go to Utah was his last son, Walter Scott Bateman, who married a Utah girl who was living in Iowa in 1890 and moved to Utah with her sometime between 1905 and 1910, where he died in 1892 at the age of 72.

[128] Four of Samuel's children did not join.
[129] To be discussed in Chapter 4.

Kanesville Crossing

Brigham Young University L. Tom Perry Special Collections MSS 1608

Chapter Four – First Years in Utah and Thomas' Trip to England

I wonder how well Thomas and Mary were able to stay informed on Mormon activity in Iowa and in the Great Basin during the three years following the family's move back to Augusta in 1846, and how and when the family decided to follow the Saints west. Augusta by then had a post office,[130] so they could have had mail contact with Joseph and Margaret Bateman in Iowa and later in St. Louis. They would have heard of the departure of the ship *Brooklyn* that February with Sam Brannon and a colony of Mormons bound for San Francisco, because it had been covered in the Nauvoo newspaper. And it was known generally that Brigham Young intended to move the Saints to the Rocky Mountains or perhaps California or Oregon.

They were certainly aware of the rogue apostle Lyman Wight's move to Texas with a group of Mormons who had rejected the leadership of Brigham Young and of the Strangites, who had recruited members of the Augusta branch, and of the apostasy of their neighbors Jared Carter and Ellis Ames.

They had witnessed the departure of Joseph and Margaret Bateman with their family in Brigham Young's vanguard company aiming to be in the Great Basin before the end of 1846. They probably learned belatedly of the delay in migration and of the starvation, cholera, and scurvy in the pioneer camps at Kanesville and Winter Quarters. It turned out to be a good decision for Thomas to delay his own move, for things were going better for their family on the Almond Crocker farm with their brickworks than if they had been in Pottawattamie County.

If life was hard for the Mormons in Winter Quarters in 1847, it was even worse in the Salt Lake Valley. Of the first 148 pioneers to arrive there on July 24, 1847, I know of none who had lived in Augusta, although the Batemans' former missionary and branch leader in Manchester, William Clayton, was among them. But the Batemans were acquainted with many of the rest of them through church connections in England or Nauvoo. The first pioneers to the Great Basin built the Old Bowery on the southeast corner of the temple block just a week after their arrival, the first building in the valley, with a roof of brush and boughs topped with dirt.[131] Ten days later they began to build a fort three blocks south and west of the temple block, the outside wall made of logs, the rest of adobe. The roofs leaked with every storm. On August 22 Heber C. Kimball suggested that the river in the valley be named the Western Jordan.[132] All the valley's rivers and canyons received names that day. By September two wagon companies of men including Brigham Young were headed right back to Winter Quarters to organize the next year's travel, and several more parties of saints arrived, which taxed the depleted food and shelter resources of the first group. The first winter in Utah was extremely difficult, but by spring there were nearly 1,671 people living in 423 log and adobe huts in the Old Fort in Great Salt Lake City.[133] May and June of 1848 brought the famous cricket plague.

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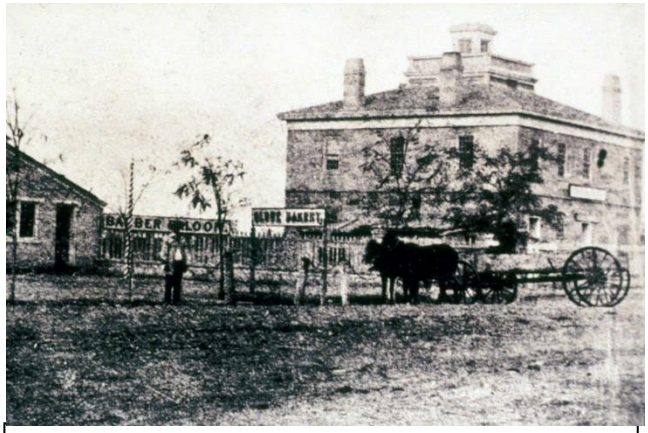
[130]The first postmaster in Augusta was Joshua Holland, appointed January 2, 1846, just five weeks before the exodus began.

[131] It served them for two years. It had a small stage at one end for plays and a rostrum. The second bowery was built in the spring of 1849. It was much larger, 100 x 60 feet with 100 posts. It could accommodate 3,000 persons and was the central meeting place for the next three years.

[132] The town where the Batemans lived for the next three generations took their name from this river. The Eastern Jordan was understood to be the biblical river.

[133] Whitney, *History of Utah* p.377.

May 1848 was the month in which Thomas and Mary Bateman's oldest daughter Harriet married Lyman Wight in Lee County, Iowa. She was the only of Thomas and Mary's daughters to inherit the petite build of her mother. That same month Brigham Young set out for the Valley for the second time, this time from Kanesville in a massive company of 1,220 people. The Joseph Bateman family was among them, arriving September 20, 1848. Joseph bought a lot on First West and built a home on it with bricks that he made himself. He also made bricks for the Council House[134] in Salt Lake City, which was constructed 1849-50 on Main and South Temple, about two blocks from Joseph's house.



Council House, later known as the State House

On February 14, 1849, Great Salt Lake City was divided into 19 wards, each three blocks square. As for areas of the valley south and north of the city, the *Journal History* entry for Feb. 16 recounts:

> In a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve, the following division of Great Salt Lake Valley into wards was decided upon. The rest of the valley lying south of the city and east of the Jordan River was to be organized into four wards, to wit, Canyon Creek Ward embracing the five-acre survey and all east of it; Mill Creek Ward[135] embracing the 10-acre survey and all east of it; a third (Cottonwood Ward) embracing the country between the 10-acre survey and the Cottonwood Creek; and a fourth (Mississippi Ward)[136] embracing all south of the Cottonwood.
>
> The country lying west of the Jordan River was to be organized under the name of Canaan Ward. The settlers north of the city and east of the Jordan and the [Great Salt] lake were to be organized into three wards as follows: the first to embrace the country lying north of the city so far as to include Sessions' settlements, the second to embrace the country between Sessions' settlements and the Weber River, the third to contain the Brown settlement on the Weber (Ogden).[137]

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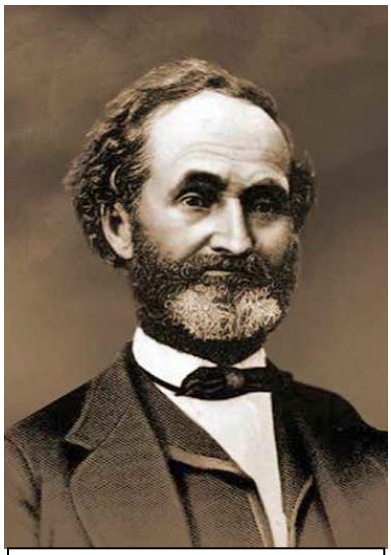
[134] According to a comment on his L.D.S. membership record.

[135] One border of the survey was modern 3300 South, which is approximately where Mill Creek joins the Jordan River. That suggests that 33rd South was the northern border, and the southern was the other side of the "10-acre survey." The "surveys" were farmland intended for the use of the owners of city lots.

[136] The term "Mississippi Ward" referred to a settlement of Church members who had journeyed to the Valley from Mississippi in 1848 under the direction of Apostle Amasa Lyman. Sometime in 1849, the ward was organized with William Crosby as bishop and became known as the South Cottonwood Ward. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church,* pp. 812-813.

[137] The wards to the north from the edge of the Salt Lake Valley and beyond were later called Bountiful, Centerville, Farmington, and Ogden. (See Jenson, p. 760.) By February 22, 1849, the city had been sectioned off to the point that the organization of the 19 wards could commence. According to the *Journal History,* the First Presidency, the Twelve and others met at the home of George B. Wallace. There, they ordained and set apart these men as bishops of the respective city wards: David Fairbanks, First Ward; John Lowry, Second; Christopher Williams, Third; William H. Hickenlooper, Sixth; William G. Perkins, Seventh; Addison Everett, Eighth; Seth Taft,

Canyon Creek Ward later was called Sugar House Ward, a name that is retained today for that area of the Salt Lake Valley. Canaan Ward became West Jordan, which also included the settlements on the *east* side of the river of Dry Creek and East Jordan, later to be parts of Sandy and Midvale.[138] It was not until 1870 that the term West Jordan referred to a single town.



John Pack

In March, John Pack, one of the missionaries who would later travel to France with John Taylor, moved early in the springtime from his house in Salt Lake City on the corner of West Temple and First North to Farmington, where he plowed a considerable acreage and planted corn, which made his house in the city available for rent to James M. Livingston and John Henry Kinkaid, the two gentile merchants who set up their first store there. Orson Whitney wrote[139] of the first store in the Pack building:

> The first store of any consequence had been opened by Messrs. Livingston and Kinkead in 1849. They were non-Mormons. Their stock of goods was valued at $20,000. The most convenient building to be obtained for their purpose was a long, low adobe house belonging to the pioneer John Pack (of the vanguard group) in the northeast corner of the block where the 17th Ward meetinghouse now stands. That adobe house was then one of the largest buildings in the city. Pack had built it as the first dancing hall in the state and was called on a mission to France at the same time as John Taylor and traveled with him in the same wagon driven by Thomas Bateman. Like Taylor, Pack was a convert from Canada.… While Pack was on his mission to France, the very first classes of the University of Deseret (now University of Utah) were conducted in that building.

That same month several parties of Mormon Battalion veterans reached Salt Lake with news of the gold at Sutter's Mill. Having no other place to live, they swelled the fort to 1,800 inhabitants and worsened the food shortage. In March, John S. Higbee settled with thirty families on the Provo River.

A convention was held in which a constitution was adopted, and territorial status was requested. A militia was organized and a provisional government (made totally of Church leaders) was installed.

It was in the spring of 1849 that Thomas and Mary Bateman finally sold their holdings in Lee County and moved to Big Pigeon, Iowa. I think it is possible that they arrived there before Livingston and Kinkaid left Kanesville for Utah with the Samuel Gully and Orson Spencer Company carrying nearly $30,000 in dry

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Ninth; David Pettigrew, Tenth; Benjamin Covey, Twelfth; Edward Hunter, Thirteenth; John Murdock, Fourteenth; Abraham C. Smoot, Fifteenth; Isaac Higbee, Sixteenth; Joseph L. Heywood, Seventeenth; and James Hendrix, Nineteenth. A number of brethren were set apart as counselors to the bishops on that day. Though their boundaries were defined, not all of the Salt Lake City wards were organized on Feb. 22, 1849. The Fifth Ward, for example, received no bishop until 1853, because there were only a few scattered settlers in the district up to then. (See Jenson, p. 743.) For a time, some unorganized wards remained dependent upon the leadership of organized ones.

[138] Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church,* p. 760.

[139] Orson Whitney, *History of Utah*, Volume I, p. 498.

goods, hardware for building purposes, and food supplies for sale in their store. The two merchants arrived in late September, but without Samuel Gully, who died of cholera on the trek.

In General Conference 1849 John Taylor was called on his mission to France, and by October 19 the apostle was underway with his companions and 35 others including John Kinkead and Abraham O. Smoot and Jedediah M. Grant, the teamsters Kinkead had contracted to bring his next load of freight.

George A. Smith arrived in Salt Lake City about that time, driving Thomas Bateman's former oxen and wagon. His first wife Bathsheba later wrote that she spent the first days in the city sleeping in the wagon box before she and George settled on the west side of the Jordan River[140] and planted 11 acres of wheat, which were ruined when the river flooded. Luckily, he had also planted 10 acres in Big Cottonwood where he had settled another of his wives.

George A. Smith

On another train that same week in October, Joseph's son William Bateman arrived with his family. They moved into the house on First West with his father.

Between January and June of 1850 Thomas Bateman was working from St. Louis to Kanesville helping Livingston and Kinkead to put their freight train together. The Bateman family and the freight operation departed from Old Fort Kearney on June 6 for Salt Lake City.

The very first issue of the *Deseret News* was published on June 15, 1850, with Willard Richards as editor of the weekly paper. In its second issue, the newspaper announced progress on the new mercantile store: "The store house on State House [141] lot designated for Livingston and Kinkead is ready for timbers." The firm was moving out of their first store in the adobe house of John Pack in the 17th Ward and setting up on Main Street in a newly constructed building. Through the summer months Livingston and Kinkead advertised the progress of their much-anticipated freight wagons.

On September 7, 1850, Congress granted Utah territorial status, but rejected Utah's proposal for a State of Deseret that included the entire Great Basin. The territory did include most of Nevada and western Colorado.[142] On the same day California became a free state and the New Mexico Territory was created. It was generally understood that Utah would eventually become a slave state. But word of the

[140] This was probably close to where the Batemans would later settle. George A. Smith sold his land grant to Alexander Beckstead in 1849, after which Beckstead and some early pioneers with the surnames Ensign, Butterfield, and Egbert located about 12 miles south of Salt Lake City on the banks of the Jordan River. The settlement was known as Gardner in the early 1850s when Archibald Gardner came from Mill Creek and built a sawmill and grist mill and homes there. A ditch was dug from the Jordan River which powered the Gardner mill race, which exists today as Gardner Village, a popular shopping center built around the mill and adjacent houses.
[141] State House was another term for the Council House, renamed after the Territorial Convention.
[142] Colorado and Nevada land was taken back from Utah Territory in 1861 after gold and silver were discovered at Comstock and Breckenridge. All this land had been acquired from Mexico with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 which ended the Mexican War.

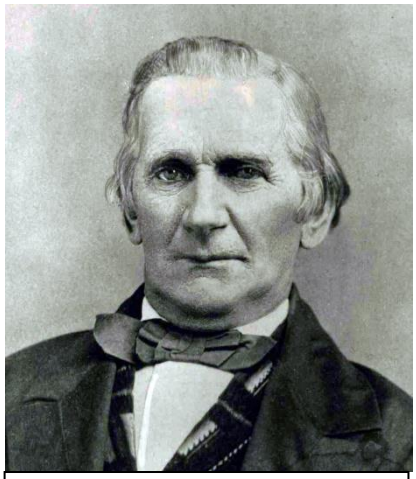
congressional action did not reach Utah until January 27, 1851.[143] That evening fireworks were fired in celebration from the roof of the new mercantile store of Livingston and Kinkead.[144]

The *Deseret News* published this notice on September 20:

> Livingston and Kinkead would inform the citizens of the city and vicinity that their first train of merchandise has arrived and will be open for inspection and sale as soon as possible at their NEW STORE immediately south of the State House. We offer the community a large and general assortment of groceries, queens ware, glassware, leather boot and shoes, hats and caps, paints, oils, and dye stuffs. Our second train will arrive in about ten days when we shall have for sale 250 head of work cattle.

One week later the *News* announced that the Livingston and Kinkead train had arrived. The train did not pause until the drivers had gathered their dusty wagons around the new store on Main Street right beside the State Building which Joseph Bateman had helped to build. One account says they arrived at midnight.

I can imagine Thomas and his family being met by his brother Joseph as they busily unloaded the freight. Probably one of Thomas' wagons contained the goods which Taylor had sent to his wife Leonora in care of Abraham Hoagland, both of them neighbors to Joseph in the 14th Ward. The relief of a safe arrival at Zion with the eleven wagons in his charge quickly gave way to disappointment according to Phillip Margetts and several of Thomas Bateman's biographers. John Taylor is said to have promised Thomas a financial reward from the Church for his freighting work, which did not come to fruition. Evidently Brigham Young was not willing to honor the promise,[145] and by then John Taylor was far away in France.



Bishop Abraham Hoagland

Shortly after their arrival, Thomas and Mary Bateman bought part of Joseph's lot from him and erected what Phillip Margetts described as a comfortable house of adobe bricks, which Thomas and his boys made. Samuel was 18, Thomas was 14, Joseph was 13, James was 8, and William was 6. There were also two little girls--Martha was three and Margaret was just 6 months old. The house was closed in, and a store of firewood was obtained before winter set in.

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[143] It is a little-known fact that this delay in notification distorted dates in the 1850 Utah Census, which had been required of the new territory. The census in Utah was actually counted between February and May 1851, which has caused many unwary genealogists to miscalculate birthdates by a year.

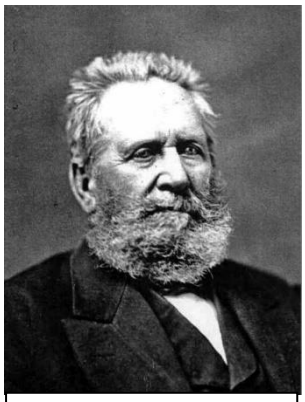
[144] Ronald W. Walker, *The Runaway Federal Officers*, Journal of Mormon History Vol. 39, No. 4 (Fall 2013), p. 13, University of Illinois Press; Mormon History Association.

[145] While I have not proof of this story, it is certainly compatible with what is known of Brigham Young's behavior. In fact, there is ample evidence that while the frontier prophet permitted Gentile business interests such as Livingston and Kinkead, he resented and criticized them. He spoke out against them in multiple conference addresses, and in an editorial in the *Deseret News* November 7, 1855, he made an appeal to entrepreneurs to come up with a way to deliver goods to South Pass via shallow draft boats to compete with the six gentile mercantile outfits operation freight wagon trains.

The next week the newspaper reported that trade at the new stores of Messrs. Livingston and Kinkead and Col. J. & E. Reese's, had been very brisk.

One member of the family of Thomas and Mary Bateman was not yet in Zion but would soon arrive in the first Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company. On October 13 Harriet Bateman Wight entered the Valley with her husband Lyman and their toddler daughter Harriet Amelia, accompanied by the Batemans' friends from Augusta, Lyman's parents Lewis and Nancy Wight with six children plus a first cousin of Lewis named Ephraim Wight. Charles, Lewis' second oldest child, had been married the week before the Edward Hunter Company left Kanesville and brought his new bride Sarah Ellen. What a honeymoon. The Wights' oldest daughter Sarah, who went by "Sally," had married Sheldon Cutler in February. Two of the Wight's children, Lemuel and Elizabeth, had died as eight-year-olds in Little Pigeon, but Lewis and Nancy Wight brought William, age eight, Joseph, six, Heber, five, Nancy, three, and their baby William Lewis Wight, a seven-month-old. Lyman and Harriet and moved initially to Millcreek.[146]

The rest of Lewis Wight's family probably went initially into a dugout in the east bank of the Jordan, but soon settled on a choice piece of land on Bingham Creek about three miles further west, which afforded ample water from Bingham Canyon and a good grazing area for cattle. The place became known in West Jordan as the Wight settlement. Lewis would soon receive a contract from the new presiding bishop, Edward Hunter, to manage the Church's cattle herd. Elder Hunter had been the leader of the wagon train that brought the Wight family to Utah before he became the presiding bishop for all the Church, managing the Church's temporal affairs including the cattle and sheep which had been collected as tithing.[147] Lewis Wight was no stranger to the cattle industry. His father had been a dairy farmer, and Lewis had raised cattle at Little Pigeon.



Bishop Edward Hunter

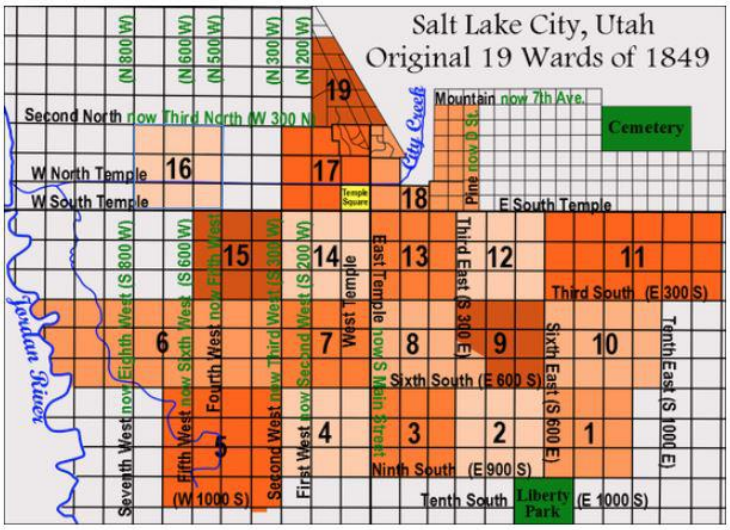
On November 5, 1850,[148] Thomas Bateman's chief admirer and biographer Phillip Margetts was wedded to the Batemans' 16-year-old daughter Elizabeth by none other than the

[146]When Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow first entered the Salt Lake Valley July 20, 1847, they immediately turned south from Emigration Canyon and went to what is now called Millcreek, attracted to tall bullrushes which looked to them like waving grain. Since they had been instructed by Brigham Young to turn north, they didn't explore the area at the time. East Millcreek soon became a ward bounded by 2700 South, the east mountains, and 3900 South to the White ditch, about 20th East. This was some of the most productive land in the valley and the creek was ideal for mills. Over time, 32 were located there. The Neff Mill, begun in 1847, was located approximately at modern 2700 East and Evergreen Ave. Neff was the father of Porter Rockwell's wife Mary Ann. Mary Fielding Smith, widow of Hyrum, settled there in 1848 with her family including Joseph F. Smith, the future Prophet. From *Memoirs of East Mill Creek*, Claudia S. Thurman Collection/Neff family papers, 1846-1943.

[147] Edward Hunter had been the bishop of a Nauvoo Ward and in Iowa, of Winter Quarters. When Heber C. Kimball announced the calling in April conference in 1851, he said, "I can recommend him to fill that office, as a man of God, and a man of business." By background he was a farmer, leather curer, a cattle expert in terms of breeding, handling, judging, and a businessman. When the Mormon settlers established themselves in the Salt Lake Valley, they brought with them 3,100 head of cattle, 887 cows, and 2,213 working oxen. By 1850 there were over 12,000 cattle. (Everett L. Cooley, *An Overview of Utah's Cattle Industry,* Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume 32, Number 3, July 1964).

[148] One scholarly article gives the year as 1851, but that seems unlikely since their first child was born August of 1851. Margetts gives the date as November 5, 1850. Margetts and Elizabeth lived their whole married life in the city of Salt Lake and had 14 children—four dying as infants.

Apostle George A. Smith at Joseph Bateman's home on the southeast corner of First West and Second South.[149]


Salt Lake City, Utah
Original 19 Wards of 1849
(N 800 W)
(N 600 W)
(N 500 W)
(N 300 W)
(N 200 W)
Second North now Third North (W 300 N)
W North Temple
W South Temple
Mountain now 7th Ave.
Cemetery
City Creek
Pine now D St.
E South Temple
Temple Square
East Temple now S Main Street
Third East (S 300 E)
Third South (E 300 S)
West Temple
Fifth West now Fourth West
Sixth West now Fifth West
Eighth West now Seventh West
Second West now Third West (S 300 W)
First West now Second West (S 200 W)
Jordan River
Sixth East (S 600 E)
Tenth East (S 1000 E)
Sixth South (E 600 S)
Ninth South (E 900 S)
Tenth South
Liberty Park
(E 1000 S)
(W 1000 S)

The Salt Lake 14th Ward was probably the most prominent of all the original 19 wards laid out by the pioneers.[150] In the 1850 census, wards were not delineated--the homes were just listed consecutively, but one block north of the Batemans lived Willard Richards and also Lenora Taylor, the first wife of John Taylor. Phillip and Elizabeth Margetts and Phillip's brother Henry two blocks east on Main Street next to Robert Pixton, all in the 14th Ward.

An advertisement was run in the *Deseret News* on November 16, 1849 soliciting volunteers for the Little Salt Lake Mission, later known as the Iron Mission, south to Parowan and later to Cedar City. Fifty men were being sought to augment the 50 who had already been called, which included Thomas, Samuel, and Joseph Bateman. According to George A. Smith's biography, the Iron Mission company consisted of 118 volunteers accompanied by about 30 families. On the day they started from Salt Lake Valley the thermometer was at zero. The company was organized at Peteetneet Creek (later called Payson) with 25 cavalry, 32 picked infantry, and 13 men in charge of a piece of artillery, the rest organized as a permanent camp guard. Only 30 of the party were women, and there were 18 children under the age of 14. They settled first in Parowan, and then moved to Cedar on November 2, 1851.

The expedition, which was led by George A. Smith,[151] left December 7. Joseph Bateman and his wife Margaret arrived in Parowan on January 12, 1851 and lived there until Joseph's death in 1855.[152] Sarah

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[149] On modern street maps of Salt Lake City (after 1948 when the numbering system was adjusted), this is 200 West Street, the first street west of West Temple. Before 1948 that street was known as First West. Later family accounts give the street as West Temple, but pioneer property maps (on which the Batemans do not appear) seem to show some of their close neighbors in the 1850 census a block further west.

[150] The Salt Lake City 14th Ward bordered on Temple Square and in the 1860 census it was the home of seven of the 12 apostles and their several wives including many familiar Mormon names such as George Romney, Phineas Richards, Parley P. and Orson Pratt, W.W. Phelps, John Taylor, Mathias Cowley, Amasa Lyman, Anthony Ivins, Nathan Tanner, David H. Cannon, Wilford Woodruff, and Franklin D. Richards. The 14th Ward is where the Relief Society was re-established after it had been discontinued in Nauvoo in March 1844. Eliza Partridge Lyman referred in her journal to the first meeting of the Fourteenth Ward Relief Society, established June 6, 1854, immediately following Brigham Young's announcement that ward Relief Societies should be formed to assist with Indian relief.

[151] Bathsheba Smith later wrote that when she learned George A. had decided to take his second wife Zilpha with him to Iron County, it was the "saddest day I had yet seen. Two days before my husband started south, I was out of wood, and the house was open and cold. Father ('Uncle' John) Smith invited me and the children to live with his family until my house could be finished."

[152] Margaret returned to Salt Lake Valley when Joseph died of an unknown cause in 1855, where she died in 1864.

Ann, the wife of their son William, was pregnant with her sixth child, Elizabeth.[153] She and William took over Joseph's house in the 14th Ward for a year or so, which was next to her parents, and then followed William's parents to Cedar City.

Samuel Bateman, by then 18 years old, also accompanied George A. Smith to Parowan, but Thomas did not. Family sources say that Samuel Bateman volunteered to go in place of his father on account of Thomas' poor health, although the *Deseret News* article seems to suggest that both Samuel and Thomas had originally been called to go.

Around that time the Church was holding a general weekly "Sunday public meeting"[154] for Saints of any ward, which was generally held in the Bowery, the large outdoor meeting hall which had replaced the Old Bowery that had been constructed the week of the first pioneers' arrival. Minutes for the meetings and a transcription of each talk were kept by Young's secretary Thomas Bullock, using abbreviations and occasional shorthand. On December 29, 1850, Brigham Young spoke on Truth and on the Word of Wisdom. The next week featured Parley P. Pratt and Amasa M. Lyman, and on January 12, Zera Pulsipher, Brigham Young and others spoke. There is no record of a meeting the following week—I assume it may have been cancelled for weather reasons--which is why the January 26 public meeting was moved to the Council House on South Temple and Main Street (soon to be called the State House to reflect Utah's Territorial status.) Parley P. Pratt was again the speaker, this time in a more comfortable environment.

Thomas Bullock's notes fail to note the location of the Sunday public meeting held on February 2, but it seems likely to have also been in the Council House.[155] This time there was speaker who was not one of the apostles; it was Thomas Bateman. Because this event is crucial to understanding the rest of Thomas Bateman's life, I will share with you my transcription of Bullock's notes for Thomas' entire talk with the introductory and following remarks by Brigham Young as follows.[156]

> Feb 2, 1851. 11 am.
>
> Congregation called to order by D. Spencer. Present on stand: B.Y. (Brigham Young), A.L. (Amasa Lyman), D. Spencer, J. M. Grant, P.P. Pratt, Tom Bateman. Brigham Young requested the attention of congregation.
>
> Brigham Young: As I wish to be distinctly understood, Brother T. Bateman has requested the privilege of speaking on the stand—to many it may be new, but how many are ready? I have it he has requested to speak on behalf of Elijah the Prophet. I was going to say who the devil is he? I say unto him if he has wisdom let us have it, but I don't want any of this fool nonsense today.

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[153] Elizabeth was born April 1.

[154] There is some evidence that "Sunday public meetings" were held as early as 1847 at Winter Quarters. Richard E. Bennett, *Finalizing Plans for the Trek West: Deliberations at Winter Quarter, 1846-1847*, B.Y.U. Studies volume 24, Summer 1984, Number 3, page 308.

[155] The meetings for the next few several weeks were definitely held in the Council House.

[156] For digital images of Thomas Bullock's notes go to the Church History Library, call number CR 100 318. Thomas Bullock, booklet (#10), 1850 December 29-1851 March 9 found in Historian's Office general Church minutes, 1839-1877 > 1846-1850.

T. Bateman: Elders, sisters, and friends. I want to be understood by the whole congregation. It has been reported there is a man representing to be Elijah the Prophet who has put out his papers. If I should come out with nonsense today, I hope you will forgive me. I could not read the papers myself, as my parents never give me an education. It is neither my wife nor daughter, but it is a man like yourself and he has seen your proceedings and he carried his gun on the prairies to protect Nauvoo. I state before all this congregation that Elijah the Prophet is in this city. I am glad I am among you although it is represented I am gone out of my mind. It was so when I joined the Saints. Elijah the Prophet has made his appearance. You will see his works. I can see them, and they suited me. If they don't suit you, you may think the less. And the papers will be printed until every Saint knows them. I feel thankful that some think I am the very individual, but they won't find it out only by the same way I found it out. Brother Brigham was the man that put the Priesthood on my head, and I will stand between him and his enemies as long as I live. I won't hurt anyone unless he wants to hurt me.

Brigham Young: He has occupied less than a minute—you have got what I would get, and that is nothing less. I think his Elijah is Mr. Ashland,[157] who was cut off in Kirtland, followed with Missouri. It's all about nothing at all. He has been cut off as many as six times and always baptized where he was not known. And I say it's nothing at all. I have never seen the day yet, that I was afraid to tell the man he lied if he did lie, or a thief if he was a thief. Some persons are a plaything for the devil. The Wheat and Tares must grow together and to the Sheep and Goats go ahead, and by and by it will be seen who comes out on the top of the heap.

I have words of comfort. The gospel of salvation is consolation to all. When Elijah the Prophet makes his appearance, we will commence a work. I feel to ask Tom Bateman what the work of Elijah the Prophet will be.

Tom Bateman: To turn the hearts of the children to their parents. And I serve my children according to the direction given by Brother Brigham.

Brigham Young: That's true, he has answered it correctly. It is written in the Bible. I doubt if Brother Bateman will ask that the keys have been given to anyone.

Phelps: I was present when the keys were given to Joseph.[158]

(There follows a long discussion of the keys and no more mention of Thomas Bateman.)

This strange exchange is difficult for me to parse, but I will try. From Brigham Young's initial comment on "fool nonsense" it appears that he was already somewhat suspicious of Thomas. Perhaps he was referring to the disagreement about payment for freighting. Possibly Brigham had already been aware of Thomas' ideas about the Prophet Elijah, but if so, why did he give Thomas the "privilege of speaking on the stand?" In my experience, mystical beliefs were fairly common and often accepted in the Church at that time, and Thomas' comments showed devotion to Brigham with no disrespect or rebelliousness to the man or to the institution. I would love to know just when Thomas developed his beliefs about Elijah. Possibly they date back to his first days in the Church at Manchester. They were never

[157] Despite a careful investigation I have not been able to identify Brigham's "Mr. Ashland" in Kirtland or in any Church record.

[158] This was at the April 3, 1836 dedication of the Kirtland Temple.

mentioned in William Clayton's diary, but what did Thomas mean when he said "…although it is represented I am gone out of my mind. It was so when I joined the Saints?"

Writing many decades later, John Taylor's grandson, Samuel W. Taylor,[159] wrote that "(Thomas Bateman) had an argument with Church authorities and was cut off in a public meeting. The shock was more than he could stand; he was never the same after that." The preceding scene in the Sunday public meeting does not look like an "argument" to me, and I don't see that he was "cut off" on that occasion. A footnote in the Taylor book refers to a letter in the John Taylor letter file[160] which gives additional details. "A few months after his arrival (in Salt Lake City), he was cut off in a public meeting where Pres. H. C. Kimball was presiding, Brother Kimball himself making the motion for the action." The argument and excommunication must have happened soon afterward in another meeting, one in which Brigham Young was not present.

The very next day Brigham Young took his oath of office as Territorial Governor from Daniel H. Wells, Chief Justice.

Harriet Bateman Lyman's second baby, Martha, was born at Millcreek on February 23, 1851.

Brigham Young's secretary Thomas Bullock recorded the minutes of three more Sunday public meetings on February 18, March 2, and March 9. Brigham Young was presiding at each of these meetings and there was no mention of Thomas Bateman, of any disturbance, nor of cutting anyone off from Church membership. My theory is that the action on Thomas Bateman's membership probably took place in a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve. Heber C. Kimball[161] was probably conducting quorum meetings in the absence of Orson Hyde, the quorum president at the time, who was presiding in Kanesville.

Thomas continued that winter and spring to make bricks and lay them and also took care of a farm,[162] but this was a terrible time for him. He was suffering both spiritual and financial rejection.

The Bateman family biographers have had much to say about this, and rightly so, especially Margetts, who unlike most of the biographers had a front-line view of Thomas' efforts putting the freight company together and of the arrival scene involving Brigham Young. Margetts seems to attribute Thomas' problem to a combination of extreme overwork, betrayal, hyper-spirituality, and mental breakdown, leaving no doubt about his admiration for his father-in-law.

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[159] Samuel W. Taylor, *The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon,* Macmillan & Co, New York, 1973, p. 344.

[160] Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, The University of Utah, Box 20, file #3, John Taylor Letter File, Church Historian's Department, letter from August 11, 1885. This letter was written by Joseph E. Taylor (counselor in the Salt Lake Stake Presidency and no relation to President John Taylor.) More discussion follows later on this.

[161] The August 11, 1885 letter in the Taylor file states that Heber C. Kimball initiated Thomas' excommunication.

[162] Conquerors of the West Vol. I. This was probably the five-acre farm that came with Joseph's city lot.

Some of Phillip Margetts' statements: [163]

> He had worked unceasingly for many months… (There was) comparatively speaking no one he could rely upon for assistance or help… He expected something handsome in return for all this worry from those who were responsible for the provision made to him by John Taylor and others who had engaged Brother Bateman to deliver the freight owned by Livingston and Kinkade in Salt Lake City, which he did… (Thomas) had not been treated right by those who should have been his friends.
>
> Brother Bateman was not only an honest man but also a very religious man. He began to read and study the scriptures until he imagined he was someone else and not himself. He gave way to these thoughts, pondered over them, and these, with other troubles, drove him nearly out of his mind… (He accomplished a) feat few men could have accomplished without affecting the brain.

Phillip Margetts

On March 12 John Murdock, bishop of the 14th Ward, left on a mission to Australia. His counselor Abraham Hoagland became the Batemans' bishop.

Tired of freezing during winter meetings and being muddied by rain dripping through the roof of the Bowery, the saints voted in April conference to construct a tabernacle, which was made possible from California gold rush income. Two days later, William Bateman's daughter Elizabeth was born.

Around the end of April, Thomas and Mary's son Samuel began to make his way back to Salt Lake from the Iron Mission in Parowan in the company of his older cousin-in-law Dennis Winn, the husband of Joseph's daughter Margaret, and two other young men. Possibly they been recruited by George A. Smith more for military protection than for settlement and were now more needed in the valley. Or maybe they had just deserted.

The 1850 U.S. Census, which was actually counted in April and May 1851[164] in Salt Lake City, shows where the Batemans were living that spring, which settles the considerable disagreement among Bateman family stories on this point.

In that census Thomas Bateman's profession was given as "mason" which suggests he was more active in building with bricks than in producing them at that moment. He was 41 years old. Also living in the dwelling on the southwest corner of First West and Second South were his wife Mary and his children

[163]Phillip Margetts Collection, Papers 1850-1928, MSS 406, B.Y.U. Library.

[164] The 1850 census in Utah was tallied a year after the states had completed it. It was done late because it was a requirement of Congress when Utah was made a territory.

Thomas, Joseph, James, William, Martha Ann, and Margaret. Samuel, of course, was not present, nor was he counted in the Iron County census, also tallied in May, since he was traveling between the two places.

The original lots in Great Salt Lake City were 1.25 acres each with eight lots on each 10-acre block. Each lot owner was entitled to a farm of five, 10, or 20 acres south of town. It is likely that several families, each in a small adobe house, were living at that time on Joseph Bateman's city lot. Since they shared the lot, there would not have been a farm allotment for each of them, which is probably why most of them soon moved into the county.

Between Thomas Bateman's house and Joseph's, a spinster schoolteacher named Editha Morgan Anderson[165] lived with a 16-year-old boy named Warren Lafayette Ball, an orphan whom she had adopted in Nauvoo. Their pioneer company is not documented, but they probably arrived in Utah in September 1848, possibly traveling with Joseph and Margaret Bateman. They moved briefly to Millcreek in 1852, after which Editha became one of the first schoolteachers in American Fork.

John Henry Kinkead

Two doors away from Thomas were William Bateman with his wife Sarah and their five children including Elizabeth who was by then one month old. Next to them lived Sarah's parents James and Mary Lavender, the Batemans' former branch members in Augusta, with five children. Another dwelling on that lot contained several of Joseph Bateman's other children. Not far away from the Batemans on another block lived the merchant John H. Kinkead.[166]

Another section of the census shows Lewis and Nancy Wight listed right after Henry Herriman's family, who occupied one of the three cabins in the Butterfield settlement, later to be named Herriman, which is located about 22 miles southwest of the center of Salt Lake City. The Wights' listing next to Herriman could be misleading since the Wight's were actually living eight miles away on Bingham Creek, about three miles west of the Jordan River. There were simply no families living between them. Lewis may have already been taking care of the Church's tithing herd there. The census showed Lewis and Nancy Wight with all of their living unmarried children: William, Joseph, Heber, Nancy, and William ages one through eight. His married son Lyman was also listed in the census, but without his wife Harriet, who was still in Millcreek with their two small daughters.[167] Lewis' 19-year-old married second son Charles was also in the household with his wife Sarah.[168] The Wights' married daughter Sally was next door with Sheldon and their children.

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[165] Editha's inspiring brief biography and a longer one on her adopted son Warren by Dale W. Adams are attached to her memories in *Family Search*, L4QR-9KN.

[166] Kinkead eventually moved to Nevada near Lake Tahoe when the silver rush began and later became the governor of Nevada.

[167] Lyman was also counted in Millcreek. He was probably going back and forth, constructing a house in the Wight settlement for Harriet and helping with the cattle herd.

[168] I am assuming that Sarah Ellen Loveless is listed erroneously as Sarah, age 11. Lewis' daughter named Sarah (who went by "Sally") is listed in Sheldon Cutler's household.

In Parowan the census shows 86 houses and 360 people, including Joseph and Margaret Bateman, who were living three doors from George A. Smith and his fourth wife Zilpha.

Conference in the Bowery on Temple Square was commenced Sunday April 6, 1851, with Brigham Young presiding but immediately adjourned to the following day due to rain. Heber C. Kimball presided in both the morning and afternoon sessions on Monday in the place of Brigham Young, who was excused due to illness. The secretaries were William Clayton and Thomas Bullock, who kept minutes for the sustaining of officers and recorded the exact words of the songs and poetry, but not of the talks. Elder Kimball called 37 additional men by name[169] to join the Iron Mission, but no other mission calls were noted. There was no mention of anyone being cut off from the Church.

A meeting was held in the Council House on May 8, 1851, to get up subscriptions for a tabernacle. Looking for mentions of Thomas in all these meetings, I have found none, but one way or another, Thomas Bateman was cut off from the Church sometime between February and June.

Construction on the tabernacle was commenced on May 21.[170] Lewis Wight was re-baptized that day in the Jordan River.

Samuel Bateman and his four companions returned home in Salt Lake City about that time from the Iron County Mission after adventures with Indians, wild animals, and inadequate provisions. According to one account[171] Samuel surprised the family appearing in a buckskin suit with fringes about a half foot long, looking like a mountaineer. Very soon the 18-year-old would take over as head of the Thomas Bateman family, a job that he occupied much sooner and longer than anyone anticipated and would hear for the first time of his father's excommunication.

On June 12, 1851, Thomas Bateman left the Salt Lake Valley with ten other men[172] headed east. According to Phillip Margetts, Thomas was on his way to England to dispose of some property owned by himself and his brother Joseph. The group arrived in Kanesville 60 days later, a record time for ox-drawn wagons, which suggests that they were lightly loaded, and that the plan may have been to return them loaded with freight for the Valley. It appears that Thomas led the group, but I have not been able to discover the names of any of his companions.[173] Among the several groups of travelers they met on the trail coming west was Almon W. Babbitt, a lobbyist for the Church returning from Washington D.C.[174] and at least two large pioneer companies headed for Deseret. About 100 miles past Laramie, Thomas Bateman's group met the president of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Orson Hyde, in a party of seven men, who reported being accosted by about 300 Pawnee Indians and robbed of several thousand dollars worth of goods including all their clothes and personal belongings.

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[169] Their names were not given in the minutes taken by Thomas Bullock.

[170] The old tabernacle, built hastily of adobe and seating only 2,500 people, was dedicated April 6, 1852. The famous tabernacle which still stands was begun in 1863 and first used in October 1867.

[171] Heath and Melissa Parker, *Beautiful upon the Mountains*, Family Heritage Publishers, Salt Lake City, p. 120.

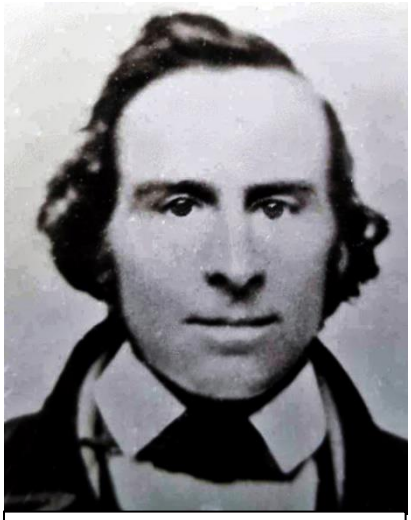
[172] According to Joseph E. Taylor, relating the story to President John Taylor in 1885, the group contained missionaries who had been called during the April Conference of 1851, but I have been able to find no record of missionaries called at the time except the 37 to the Iron Mission.

[173] One source named Andrew J. Langley, but he was part of an unrelated group traveling about the same time.

[174] Babbitt was an attorney and long-time Church member who was soon to become secretary/treasurer of the new Territory of Deseret. He was later killed by Cheyenne Indians returning from his 22nd trip to Washington in 1856.

Elder Hyde asked Thomas to carry a message back to Daniel Mackintosh,[175] a reporter and assistant editor of the *Frontier Guardian* in Kanesville. Hyde was the founder and editor of the newspaper but had headed west to escort the federal Judge Perry Brocchus to the new territory. Another member of the little party was Albert Carrington, the secretary to Brigham Young and to the provisional legislature. Carrington had been assigned to assist Howard Stansbury's expedition to survey the Great Salt Lake and was returning after making his report to the federal government.[176]

Thomas and his companions arrived in Kanesville on August 12, having avoided the marauding Pawnees, and delivered Elder Hyde's letter to Mackintosh too late to make the August 15th edition of the weekly paper. In the next week's issue[177] of the *Guardian* the assistant editor printed two strikingly different pieces about Thomas which had been written several days apart. Obviously, something happened in the interval to change the writer's view.



Daniel Mackintosh

The first story reported Thomas' arrival and his encounter with Orson Hyde. It published parts of Hyde's letter and news about the other parties Thomas and his party had encountered, all with a respectful attitude toward Thomas and his group. The second story was written a few days later in an entirely different tone, containing a harsh personal attack on Thomas Bateman. It began by announcing the arrival on August 19th of a new group of seven "hearty and hardy good looking men (who) dropped in upon us about six o'clock." These were men from California and Utah[178] who had made the trip from Salt Lake City on horseback in 34 days. Mackintosh wrote,

> The spirit manifested by this last company from the Valley is of an entire (sic) different character from the one exhibited by Mr. Bateman and his company. Mr. Langley and his associates bring news of a cheering character; while Mr. B. brought nothing but darkness, gloom, and dissatisfaction. We can easily account for the difference: Mr. Bateman came here, cut off from the Church for disturbing the peace and quietude of the Saints in the Valley and for assuming the character and position of Elijah the Prophet; all the representation he could give was like himself, of the darkest kind; everything there was out of order in his estimation, and the saints would not allow him to set matters right. No wonder! If we ever saw a fool and a liar embodied in one person; we are satisfied that we

[175] Twenty-nine-year-old Mackintosh was a Mormon convert from Edinburgh, who with his wife and two children left Kanesville with Orson Hyde in 1852 after the *Guardian* was sold to Jacob Dawson, a non-Mormon attorney. Mackintosh became a secretary to Brigham Young and died at the age of 40.

[176] Carrington, a Dartmouth graduate and an attorney, had been part of the vanguard pioneer party in 1847, served as editor of the *Deseret News* 1854-1856, and became an apostle in 1870. The other members of Hyde's group were men from Kanesville: Dustin Amy, a tinsmith, his employee John H. Crombie, William Henry Gooch, brother of the printer of the *Frontier Guardian*, and Mr. Walker, (possibly Edwin Robinson Walker.)

[177] *Frontier Guardian*, August 22, 1851, Number 15, Volume III.

[178] The men were Andrew J. Langley from Salt Lake; Peter Shelton, formerly of Warren Co., Illinois, late from Oregon, Harvey S. Allen, of Jackson Co, Iowa; G.A. Thomson of Kane Co, Illinois, George Griffith of Cane Co, Illinois, Alexander J. Ford of Mishawaka Co., Michigan. I could find no tie to Mormonism in any of them.

> are not mistaken when we say that both appear very conspicuous in the personage of this would-be modern Elijah, alias the great Thomas Bateman, who, not many years ago ran through the streets of Kanesville as crazy as a loon, with a red flag in his hand. The Saints should beware of this modern dignitary, he has been hurled from his standing in the Church of God, and now, like Lucifer, the Son of the Morning, he goes about accusing the brethren in the Valley; and seeking whom he may devour. Some say that he intends to visit Washington and lay his grievances before the President; but we venture to say that, like Bill Smith,[179] is only laying a snare for others; into which, he, himself, will ultimately fall.

Allow me to analyze this letter. First, while the brunt of Mackintosh's criticism is aimed at Thomas, he seems also to implicate his company, which suggests that his companions were not recently chosen missionaries.[180]

Most surprising is the difference in tone between the two news stories and the introduction of a new set of facts, which suggests that the reporter got new information about Thomas during the interval between their writing, including knowledge of the recent excommunication and of actions allegedly made by Thomas a year or two earlier. That suggests there was an informant. It could have been someone in the newly arrived group, but they do not seem to have been natives of Salt Lake City and did not meet Thomas' party on the trail, having left Salt Lake City and arrived in Kanesville after them. One candidate for informant might be John W. Cooley, the man involved with Thomas in the failed deal for the mill in 1849. Cooley was still living at Cooley's Mill, which was part of the Big Pigeon Ward, and he probably had a score to settle with Thomas. That year (1851) Cooley was an agent for the *Frontier Guardian,* and thus may have had contact with Mackintosh. In fact, it seems likely that Thomas would have gone straight to Big Pigeon after his arrival to visit his old neighbors, and there he could have run into Cooley. But Cooley would not have known of the excommunication. That information must have come from Thomas himself or someone in his party, or possibly from Langley, the only one of the second party from Salt Lake City, although I couldn't verify that he was a Mormon.

One thing that we can learn from this tirade is a clue to the actual cause of Thomas' excommunication. If Macintosh's information is accurate, there were two reasons: first, for disturbing the peace and quietude of the Saints in the Valley, and second, for assuming the character and position of Elijah the Prophet.[181] Mackintosh also raises questions about Thomas Bateman's time in Pottawattamie County a year and a half earlier. What does he mean by the "red flag in his hand?"

Unfortunately, since I have no source for information on Thomas' travels and whereabouts for the next 15 months, much of the next four paragraphs is pure speculation on my part.

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[179] Mackintosh is referring to Joseph Smith's rebellious brother William, who had been excommunicated from the Church by Brigham Young on the charge of apostasy on October 19, 1845 and joined the Strangites.

[180] Some accounts claim that Thomas had traveled with a group of recently called missionaries. In the missionary file of the Church History Library are only two listed for 1851: Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman to the San Bernardino settlement. Two are listed for 1852: Daniel and Orson Spencer to Europe. However, this list may only include Church officers.

[181] A personal note here: Thomas Bateman's obsession with the mission of the prophet Elijah to turn the hearts of the fathers to their children and the hearts of the children to their fathers resonates with the turning of my own heart to him, my third great grandfather, in writing this piece.

Some family writers[182] have assumed that Thomas returned to Utah from Kanesville before his trip to England. That is possible, but I can find no evidence to support it, and it seems more likely to me that he never returned to his family.

He probably stayed in the Kanesville area long enough to visit Big Pigeon and nearby Little Pigeon, where his brother Samuel had settled in Boomer Township. It makes sense to me that Thomas next proceeded down the Missouri River to St. Louis, a familiar trip for him.[183] Daniel Mackintosh speculated that Thomas might go next to Washington, but that makes little sense to me. He seems more likely to have continued down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and from there to Liverpool.[184]

In a suburb of Liverpool called Walton lived his sister Margaret, just three miles from the great port. She and her husband Samuel Davies ran a boarding house there. Samuel was listed in the 1851 census in England as a "labourer," likely a dock worker. Margaret, who was seven years younger than Thomas, had six children under the age of 12. It is not hard to imagine that he might have stayed with them for a while. All the rest of his immediate family had died or immigrated to America except his other sister Mary, who was four years older than Thomas. She had married James Gresty when Thomas was a teenager, but just a year later Gresty married another woman. Mary took back her maiden name of Bateman and did not remarry. She was living in Salford in 1851, probably working as a household servant. Another family member with whom Thomas may have stayed is Mary's sister, Nancy Street, whom William Clayton had mentioned in his diary as living in the Bateman home in 1840 while Mary was having a baby. Nancy married a coal miner named James Walmsley in 1848, and when Thomas returned to England, she was living four miles west of Manchester in Gorton with a one-year-old daughter.

All of Thomas' biographers report that Thomas returned to England to attend to business matters, probably to sell property or collect a property-related debt. I have not been able to find any helpful property records in Lancashire. Phillip Margetts wrote that the property had been owned by Thomas and his brother Joseph. That could only have been the brickmaking property in Salford on Regent Road, or less likely, their father's former house in Bolton. If Thomas' purpose was settling real estate claims, it is easy to understand why he might have been detained in England for over a year.

During his time away he had some contact with his family in America via letters, either by mail or in the hands of departing British Saints. According to Joseph E. Taylor's August 11, 1885 letter to John Taylor, "Being successful in (securing property he had left behind) he desired some of his family to return and join him there. After repeated solicitations, they being as often refused, he started back with results of the sale of his property."

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[182] Susan Woodland Howard, who wrote what I consider one of the best researched biographies of Thomas Bateman, surmises that he returned from Kanesville before winter to Utah "surely to the relief of Mary."

[183] I could find no evidence that he or his companions filled their wagons with goods for Livingston and Kinkaid. Judging from their advertisements in the *Deseret News*, the mercantile establishment's last supplies from St. Louis arrived in August that year, too early to have come from Thomas' group.

[184] I admit that it is possible that Thomas returned that fall to Deseret and made a second trip the following June, as many family historians have speculated, but I have not been able to find any trace of Thomas there after June 1851. In his August 11, 1885 letter to President John Taylor about Thomas Bateman, Joseph E. Taylor wrote that Thomas started for England in the spring of 1851. Phillip Margetts suggested the same.

By the fall of 1852 Thomas Bateman was preparing to return to the United States, having satisfactorily completed his business dealings. According to Phillip Margetts, Thomas left England from Liverpool on the packet ship *Tonawanda*,[185] bound for Philadelphia. He had sent a letter to Mary, telling her he was "coming home with gold watches for the boys and equally special presents for the girls." The ship's manifest confirms that he was bringing two trunks with him--almost all the other passengers paid for only a single trunk. Joseph E. Taylor wrote, "During the voyage he had to be placed in safe keeping for some days in consequence of his lunacy. He seemingly recovered and was liberated. Shortly after he jumped overboard during a heavy gale and though attempts were made, his body was never recovered."[186] According to the ship's passenger log, Thomas was drowned December 11, 1852, just six days before the *Tonawanda*[187] arrived at the port of Philadelphia.

One of Thomas Bateman's biographers wrote: "Upon learning of Brother Bateman's fate, the family discovered that a man who was going East was given the power of attorney to receive from the captain of the vessel the things which he was bringing home. Whether he got the effects or not, it is not known, but nothing was ever received by Brother Bateman's family."[188]

Passenger list of *Tonawanda* showing that Thomas had two trunks and the date of his drowning.

It would be many months before the family learned of Thomas Bateman's fate. Under even the best of circumstances there would have been a long delay.[189] There is no reason to believe that the man who absconded with Thomas' trunks and money would have notified the family of his death, and the owners of the *Tonawanda* may have lacked the ability to find the family.

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[185] The *Tonawanda*, named after the Tonawanda Creek in western New York, was a fast-sailing craft built on the Delaware River and launched in 1850. It became famous from the circumstance of its capture on October 9th, 1862, by the Confederate vessel *Alabama*. Captain Theodore Julius was held a prisoner and hostage on the *Alabama* for six days, during which his son, first mate Theodore Julius, Jr., commanded the *Tonawanda*, which had on board about 500 passengers. Being unable to take care of this large number of persons, the Confederate officer Semmes refrained from sinking the ship, but accepted a bond for a large amount payable in the event of Confederate success. (The ship is not to be confused with the battleship *U.S.S. Tonawanda*, one of four ironclad steam-powered monitors built by the U.S. Navy for the Civil War.)

[186] Letter to John Taylor from August 11, 1885 referenced above.

[187] Ship photo attached to Thomas' memories in *Family Search* by Paul Harold Dimond.

[188] Gladys Veloy Bateman Allsop, *Thomas Bateman*, DUP Museum, Salt Lake City Utah, 1932.

[189] It took over four months for the news of territorial status to reach Salt Lake City in January 1851, and this was learned second hand through a San Francisco newspaper. By General Conference in April, official communication from the U.S. Government had still not reached Deseret seven months after Congress had acted.

Jordan River

Jordan Allred, Salt Lake City Weekly, July 5, 2020

Chapter Five -- Utah without Thomas

While Thomas was still in Kanesville, Justice Brocchus arrived in Salt Lake City in early August 1851 with Orson Hyde. According to Orson Whitney's *Utah History*, they arrived with $24,000 appropriated by Congress for the territorial legislature and $20,000 for public buildings. If this is true, the Pawnees who stole the party's belongings missed the real prize. According to Wikipedia,[190] the money had already arrived on July 19 with Territorial Secretary Broughton Harris, whom Thomas would have passed on the trail the previous month.

Robert Pixton

That fall the first successful crop was harvested west of the Jordan River on the farmland which George A. Smith had sold to the first settlers. The place became known as the North Jordan Branch and eventually Taylorsville.[191] At the same time, Alonzo P. Raymond and James P. Pettigrew, two discharged Mormon Battalion members were moving their families into dugouts on the east side of the Jordan River. Other early east side settlers[192] came in the winter of 1851-52, locating mainly on the bank of the Jordan River extending southward to where Dry Creek joined the river.

The Batemans' friend Robert Pixton became interested in the land west of west of the river. He wrote: "In 1852 I went over Jordan to make a farm. We fenced in what was called the big field. I had 35 acres laid off to me. We made a ditch from Archibald Gardner's millrace at a cost of about $5,000." Pixton, also a returned Battalion member, had settled in the 14th Ward, but commuted to his farm for about six more years.[193] The settlement became known as Harker's settlement, and later as the North Jordan Branch when the West Jordan Ward was organized in January

[190] Judge Perry Brocchus, Judge Lemuel Brandenbury, and Territorial Secretary Broughton Harris, who had been appointed to Utah Territory by President Millard Fillmore quickly came into conflict with Brigham and fled the territory by the end of September. They became known as the "runaway officials of 1851" and were not replaced for another two years.

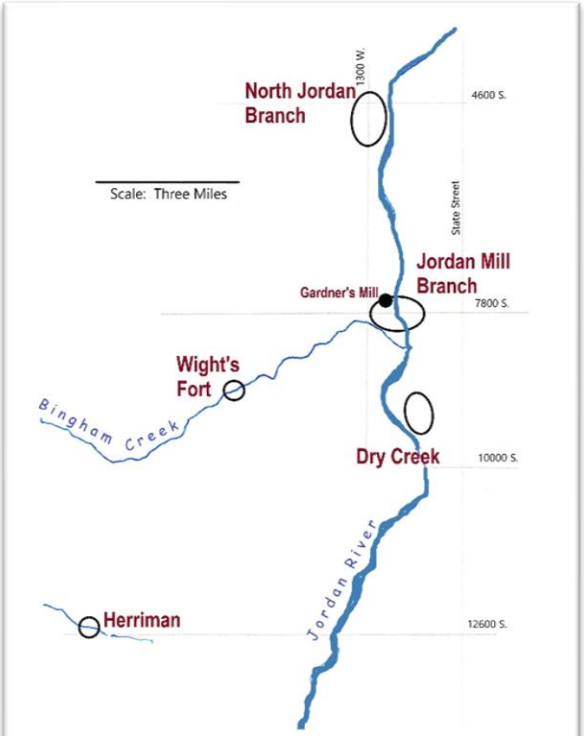
[191] In September 1850 Alexander Beckstead moved from Cottonwood to West Jordan, locating on the west side of the river one block southwest of where the old Rock Church would later be built. His was the third house in what would later become the West Jordan Ward. He bought a Mexican land grant from George A. Smith and settled a half mile south of that, where he set up a blacksmith shop and helped Archibald Gardner and Gardner's brother Robert build the 2½ mile mill race which began where Dry Creek joined the Jordan River. Beckstead was from Canada, and had arrived in Missouri in September 1838, just in time to be expelled and driven to Nauvoo. In West Jordan they first lived in a 14-foot dugout in the riverbank with a front wall of adobe bricks and a roof of logs, willows, and mud. He had 100 acres between 1300 W. and the Jordan River.

[192] This community eventually became Midvale.

[193] Robert's son, Robert Pixton Jr. was born in the house on Main Street in Salt Lake City in 1850 and spent the first seven years of his life there. The family lived just a few doors south of Livingston and Kinkead's mercantile store and next door to Phillip Margetts and Elizabeth Bateman. The Pixtons were still in the 14th Ward in 1857 during the so-called Reformation (Robert was teaching in the ward at the time) and when he was called to defend Echo Canyon. He took his family to Lehi during the Johnston's Army scare, and then returned July 6, 1858 to Salt Lake City. He moved the family to his farm in Taylorsville in the spring of 1859, as "Main Street was becoming too public for me and too dangerous for my children," and rented out his house in town. There is much more of interest to read in his handwritten autobiography. (Church History Library, MS 5474).

1852. The headquarters of the ward was there until 1859, probably because Bishop John Robinson and his counselor Joseph Harker lived there. At that time the bishop presided over branches in several West Jordan settlements. The area around Gardner's Mill was known as the Mill Branch and was probably the largest group. There were also branch members on the east side of the Jordan River including what is now Midvale and also at Dry Creek, about a mile further south. There were also branches on the west side of the river in Herriman and later in Wight's Fort.

On February 22, 1852, Lyman and Harriet Bateman Wight's second son, Thomas Lewis Wight, was born in West Jordan.[194] Because the term "West Jordan" is used indiscriminately by genealogists, it is difficult to know exactly where Lyman and Harriet were living, but it was probably in Wight's settlement where Lyman's parents--Lewis and Nancy--had been living for a year. Harriet's mother Mary Bateman and her children had also moved, leaving the adobe home which Thomas had built on First West. Their youngest daughter, Maggie Bateman, recalled that her family first moved to Dry Creek near Sandy and lived in a dugout when she was three. It was the first home she remembered, and she said it was a happy time. They would have been one of the first families to live there since there were no families at all on the east shore of the Jordan River before the winter of 1851-2.



West Jordan Branches in 1856
(Superimposed upon modern streets for reference)

There are at least three places in Utah called Dry Creek. It was a name for Lehi before it incorporated in 1852. There is a still a Dry Creek trail in Alpine, and also one in North Salt Lake. If you enter "Dry Creek" into Google maps, the location comes up in Sandy at around 100th South, which is the one we are talking about. Dry Creek extended from there northward and joined the east side of the river about a mile south of Gardner's Mill[195] at the beginning of the millrace, which is probably about where Mary located her family. Her youngest daughter Maggie described the cabin as about a mile from the river bridge which she crossed to go to school, which suggests the Batemans were by then part of the Jordan Mill Branch which had families on both sides of the river. Her biographer wrote that Maggie started school at age four or five.

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[194] This date and place are in L.D.S. record and *Find a Grave*. Thomas Lewis Wight died February 18, 1853, just shy of his first birthday, also at "West Jordan," probably at the Wight settlement.

[195] The settlement was known as Gardner in the early 50s when Archibald Gardner came from Mill Creek and built a sawmill 1850 and grist mill 1854 and homes there. The Beckstead ditch was dug from the Jordan River which powered the Gardner mill race. Gardner exists today as Gardner Village, a popular shopping center built around the mill and adjacent houses. With the building of the mill, the Taylorsville community moved further south (4800 South).

The first documentary evidence[196] of Batemans in West Jordan[197] was March 21, 1852, when James Morgan Bateman's name appeared in the West Jordan Ward records as re-baptized at the age of 10. The column for his original baptismal date is blank, suggesting that the clerk felt James had been baptized earlier, but did not know the place and date.[198] He was baptized by Joseph Harker, the first counselor in the bishopric and first settler of the North Jordan area, and confirmed by Bishop John Robinson "and council."[199] These two men performed many baptisms in the Jordan River and confirmations for people from every one of the West Jordan branches.

The first school in West Jordan opened that year. Classes were held in a small log house of 14 x 15 feet situated southwest of the future West Jordan Ward Meeting House at modern 1137 West 7800 South on the west side of the river.

The West Jordan ward records show that on April 4, 1852, Joseph and William Wight, ages eight and two, children of Lewis and Nancy were blessed by Henry Herriman, who blessed several other children of varying ages that day including Harriet A. and Thomas Wight, ages three and two months, children of Lyman and Harriet Bateman Wight. A family biography of Sally Wight Cutler, Harriet Bateman's sister-in-law, states that Sally's second child Sarah Mahala[200] was born August 1, 1852 in their first real home, a "one room log house in Mill Creek at West Jordan," into which the snow had drifted during her labor. There is no Mill Creek in West Jordan--I think they were actually in the Wight settlement[201] on Bingham Creek.

A short time later on August 29 the practice of polygamy was publicly acknowledged by Orson Pratt at a special conference which had been called by Brigham Young. There were 2,000 members gathered in the makeshift tabernacle, which was still under construction. Brigham Young called 110 missionaries to serve throughout the world.[202]

The population of the West Jordan Ward including all the branches reached 361 by the end of 1852.[203] On New Year's Day the Social Hall was dedicated in Salt Lake City and formally opened with a ball, speeches, picnic, and music with Church dignitaries present. The first dramatic performance at Social Hall happened later that month, the play *Pizarro* in which Phillip Margetts played a minor role as a soldier.[204] In February the grounds for the Salt Lake Temple were dedicated and surveyed. The cornerstones were laid at conference on April 6 with an elaborate ceremony and procession involving bands, marching workmen, and Church leaders.

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[196] West Jordan Ward Records, Church History Library CR 375 8, p. 8.
[197] Historian Andrew Jenson wrote of James Morgan Bateman that he "settled first in Salt Lake City. Later, he moved to West Jordan, where he resided first in the so-called Wight's Fort and later on a farm." (Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, 1901 vol. 2.) This is only partly true since Wight's Fort did not exist until 1856.
[198] If he was initially baptized in his eighth year, it would have been at Big Pigeon.
[199] "And council" is an entry unique to this particular baptism. It might have meant "counselors."
[200] Sarah Mahala Cutler died at the age of one on September 21, 1853.
[201] The Cutlers appeared in the Utah census in May 1851 living in the Wight settlement, but they could have been at Dry Creek living near Mary Bateman that summer.
[202] *Deseret News,* September 14, 1852.
[203] https://www.utah.gov/pmn/files/456127.pdf page 19.
[204] By the 1890's Margetts had become a popular actor and comedian, known even in California. The first dramatic company in Utah was formed at the home of William Clayton in the 17th Ward, the Salt Lake Theater Company, which opened in 1862. Margetts was a leader in that effort.

During the winter of 1852-53 Thomas and Mary's son Samuel Bateman worked for his brother-in-law Sheldon Cutler hauling wood. Sheldon made his living in the Wight settlement harvesting wood in Butterfield and Bingham Canyons and transporting it to lumber mills.

Elizabeth Bateman Margetts

In those days, before its flow was largely diverted into irrigation canals, the Jordan River was not so tame—it contained rapids, eddies, whirlpools, and it continually eroded its banks. The spring runoff in 1853 washed out the Mill Bridge. With others, Samuel Bateman operated a raft to ferry people across. By this time, all the surviving members of Thomas Bateman's family except the two married daughters had been living together in West Jordan for over 15 months. Harriet and Lyman Wight were living in Millcreek, where Lyman, a blacksmith, worked in John Neff's grist mill. Lyman wrote that they lived there three or four years, but they must have spent some of that time living in the Wight settlement, for their fourth child, Thomas Lewis Wight, was born there February 22, 1852, and died there a year later. Their fifth child, Thaddeus, was also born in West Jordan April 1854. Mary's second daughter Elizabeth lived her whole married life in Salt Lake City with Phillip Margetts. Samuel was nearly 21, the male head of the family. Thomas was 17 and Joseph was 15. James and William were 11 and nine and the little girls, Martha and Maggie were five and nearly four, still living on the east side of the river in Dry Creek.

On July 10, 1853, the *Deseret News* published a list of unclaimed letters at the post office including one addressed to Mary Bateman, Great Salt Lake City.

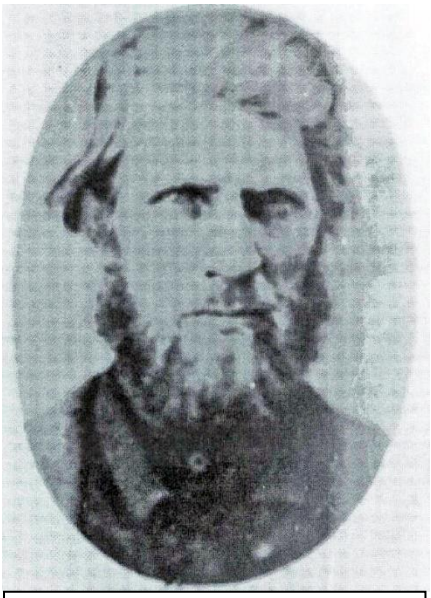
That summer Samuel was still cutting timber for Sheldon Cutler in Butterfield Canyon. According to his brother William's recollection, "There he and the other boys would often accompany the girls out to Dry Creek on hot summer days and pick watermelons." Samuel became restless, entertaining the notion of going to California[205] when a surprise visit from his brother-in-law put a quick halt to any such plan. While Samuel was working at the Wight settlement, he saw in the distance a man walking up a ditch toward him and received a premonition that it was Phillip Margetts bearing news that his father had died, which quickly proved to be true. Evidently Margetts or his wife Elizabeth had picked up the unclaimed letter at the post office and learned of the tragedy. The news came independently to Mary in the person of "Grandma Booth."

Grandma Booth was almost certainly Ann Eastwood Booth, a friend of Thomas and Mary from their branch in Manchester, who had immigrated with her husband and children to America at about the same time as the Batemans but settled in Nauvoo rather than Augusta. The Booths had been converted by William Clayton and appear even more frequently in his Manchester journal than the Batemans, possibly partly through Clayton's interest in her teenage daughter Sarah Ann. Ann Booth distinguished herself in England by sharing a remarkable vision[206] with Wilford Woodruff, in which she witnessed a

[205] James A. Oliver, *Biography of Samuel Bateman*, 1881.
[206] Wilford Woodruff Journal under the date of July 2, 1840.

martyred Mormon apostle visiting a spirit prison in which he performed a baptism for John Wesley, also for a number of deceased Methodists she had known, and some of her own relatives. It was only later that she learned of the death of David W. Patten in Missouri in 1838 and of the Mormon doctrine of a spirit prison. Later in Nauvoo, Clayton resumed his relationship with the Booths and was rebuffed in a proposal to marry Sarah Ann as a second wife. Ann Booth's husband Robert died before the exodus from Nauvoo, but she managed to move her family first to Kanesville and then to the Valley at about the same time as the Batemans with the help of John Needham, the suitor whom Sarah Ann chose over William Clayton. There were apparently no bad feelings on Clayton's part, since the widow Ann Booth settled next door to the Claytons in the 17th Ward not far from Phillip and Elizabeth Margetts. Ann was 62 years old, 18 years older than Mary, which probably accounts for her appellation of "Grandma" Booth. Her age, familiarity with the Batemans, and her spirituality can account for Phillip and Elizabeth choosing her to bear the sad message to Mary. Samuel said the news so affected his mother that for a number of weeks she looked like a ghost, and it was years before she recovered from the shock.

Mary was 44 years old and had been scrambling to provide for her children. She is said to have sold her property on First West for 50 bushels of wheat and to have made money by washing clothes, her occupation as young woman in England. In Utah Territory at the time, laundry charges were 50 cents for two weeks' worth of clothes for a family or 12 potatoes the size of a cup for a day's pay.[207] Her sons Samuel, Thomas, and Joseph were all capable of farming for the family or hiring out for others, but James and William were not yet teenagers, and the two girls, Martha and Maggie, were six and four when they learned that their father would not return to them.



Lewis Wight

According to what I regard as the most accurate Bateman biography,[208] Mary Bateman married her former Augusta neighbor Lewis Wight at Wight's Fort[209] on August 16, 1853 as a plural wife.[210] It is likely that her daughter Harriet facilitated that match with her father-in-law, which must have greatly improved the living conditions for Mary and her unmarried children, but she must have been still in the middle of her grieving process. Mary and her children moved into the growing Wight settlement three miles east of the Jordan River. Her boys would have been helpful with tending the Church tithing herd and the dairy farm that the Wight family ran.

A group of more distant Bateman relatives also moved to the Wight compound soon after that time--Hyrum Webster Bowman and Hannah Wilson, who came from Augusta, Iowa with their children Sarah

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[207] See Jane Sheets KWJY-67, Memories, *Family Search*

[208] Susan Woodland Howard, *Mary Street and Thomas Bateman* (revised August 4, 2008). Link.

[209] It would have been at Wight's settlement, not Wight's Fort, which was not completed until 1855.

[210] I could find no source documenting the marriage, but her later divorce from Wight is documented and she was re-baptized under the name of Mary Wight on July 23, 1854, according the West Jordan branch records (or July 2, 1854 in Kilfoyle's diary), which proves that she was married before Wight's Fort was built. Interestingly, the marriage to Mary Bateman is not mentioned by Lewis Wight's biographers.

Ann, four, and an infant named Mary Ann, probably in early 1854. Hannah's son from her marriage to Joseph Bateman, James Nephi, had died at the age of 10 in Burlington, Iowa on September 25, 1853[211] shortly before the family headed to Utah. By 1854 Hannah's parents, John and Margaret Wilson, who had been acquaintances of the Batemans in Salford, were also living in the Wight settlement.

Samuel Bateman was still ferrying passengers across the Jordan River in September 1853 when he took aboard a family of seven, one of whom was 15-year-old Marinda Allen. Samuel reportedly declared immediately to his companions that he had just met his future wife. Marinda's family had freshly arrived in Utah with the Daniel Miller and John W. Cooley Company, the very Cooley who had gotten into the sour deal with Thomas Bateman over the mill at Big Pigeon. Marinda's father, Daniel Allen, wrote that during the first week of his sojourn in the Valley he had walked many miles north and south seeking an opening in milling. After his family had stayed at "Brother Ballou's place in the 14th Ward" for two weeks, they accepted the job west of the river in West Jordan where he commenced to run the mill for Bishop[212] Archibald Gardner. Allen wrote that Gardner's mill was "a mere shell," but he helped to improve it and operated it for seven years while buying up many acres of nearby meadowland along the Jordan River.[213] That fall young Samuel Bateman got a job working for Daniel Allen at the mill.

Daniel and Eliza Allen

In October Conference of 1853 the apostle Lorenzo Snow was assigned by Brigham Young to recruit 50 families to supplement the 204 people already living on Box Elder Creek near the Bear River. It is possible that Lewis Wight's son Charles with his wife Sarah and two-year-old daughter were among them, since a second daughter named Mary Ellen was born in Brigham City[214] on September 26 and died two weeks later.[215] Box Elder would soon play a role in the lives the whole Wight family and of Mary Bateman and her children.

For some reason, the notice of Thomas's death was not published in the *Deseret News* until October 15, 1853.

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[211] Find A Grave gives the place of death as Wight's Fort, but a handwritten record signed by his mother Hannah clearly states that Nephi died in Burlington, Iowa. https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/memories/KWJ1-Y4P, documents.

[212] Gardner did not become bishop of the West Jordan Ward until 1860.

[213] Allen also homesteaded 160 acres in American Fork in 1862.

[214] It would have been called Box Elder at that time.

[215] This information is supported by the cemetery index of the town, but could be an error, since his previous and subsequent children were both born at his father's settlement.

It read: "Drowned at sea, on 4th December, off the ship Fernanda (sic),[216] Mr. THOMAS BATEMAN, aged 45 years. The deceased was on his way to the Valley at the time of his death."

Thomas Bateman had been dead for over 10 months and had been away from Utah for more than two years.

Marinda Allen wrote in a letter to her future husband Samuel Bateman on November 17, 1853, that she had seen his mother and "she was in a great way to hear from him,"[217] a signal of Mary's suffering at the belated news of his death.

Kilfoyle and his daughters Elizabeth, Deseret, and Margaret

The following spring there was a great deal of re-baptizing in West Jordan. In May, Marinda Allen was baptized by James Kilfoyle,[218] a member of the branch presidency in the Jordan Mill Branch, and a month later, Samuel Bateman was re-baptized. Kilfoyle wrote in his journal[219] that he baptized Mary (Bateman) Wight on July 2 in the Jordan River, and "on the 17th called to visit Wight's settlement and do some Church business." Jordan Mill Branch records[220] for July and August show re-baptisms for Lewis Wight, his wives Nancy and Mary, his children Lyman, Charles, Joseph, and son-in-law Sheldon Cutler, and for the Bateman boys Thomas, Joseph, James, and William. On the same day, Lewis Wight wrote an eviction letter[221] to Richard Meredith,[222] a man who was renting land from him, to make way for more of Bishop Edward Hunter's cattle.

On August 20, Kilfoyle attended a meeting at Wight's settlement where he was called upon to speak and also confirmed or reconfirmed 22 who had come out of the waters of baptism on that day.

Samuel Bateman married Marinda Allen in her father's cabin next to the Gardner flour mill on November 27, 1854. They made their first home in a small cabin provided by him and later moved the

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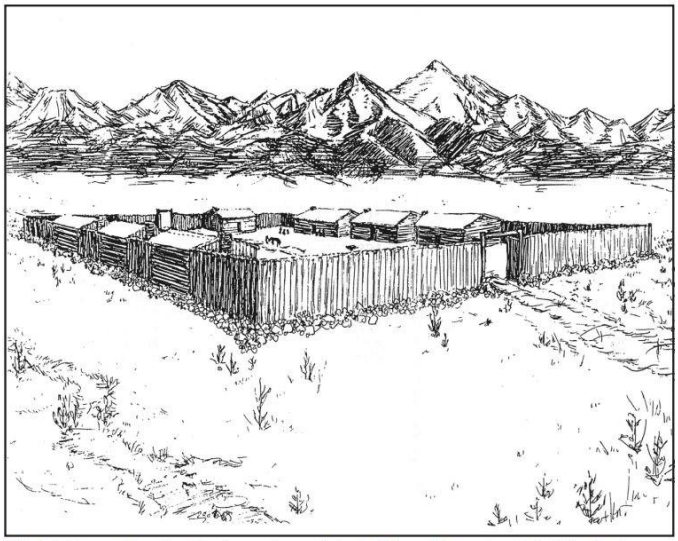
[216] The newspaper slaughtered the name of the ship and got the date slightly wrong.
[217] Juliaetta Bateman Jensen, *Little Gold Pieces*, 1948, p. 37.
[218] James Kilfoyle was an immigrant from Ireland via Canada, where he was baptized by Archibald Gardner in 1846. He had paid tithing in the Big Pigeon Branch in 1849, so he was probably acquainted with the Batemans before they left Iowa. After Batemans left, he was appointed by J. W. Cooley to be president and bishop over what was left of North Pigeon, Honey Creek, and Rocky Ford Branches. Kilfoyle emigrated in June 1853 as chaplain for the Miller/Cooley train. After arrival in Utah, likely attracted by Archibald Gardner, he purchased a farm on the east side of Jordan in Cottonwood field and later built a house on the west side of the river. He was promoted to branch president on October 1, 1854, over the Jordan Mill Branch.
[219] *James Kilfoyle Diaries*, contributed by Garrie Maughan, *Family Search*, KWJ5-GRX.
[220] West Jordan Ward Records, Church History Library CR 375 8, p. 122.
[221] Church History Library, call number MS 9392.
[222] Richard Meredith was either the 62-year-old father or his son of that name, who arrived the fall of 1853 and settled in the 19th Ward in Salt Lake City until 1858 and then to American Fork when Salt Lake was abandoned that year. The younger Richard Meredith joined the RLDS in American Fork and moved for the rest his life to Nebraska City, the site of Old Fort Kearney.

building from the meadow on the west side of the river to the bluff, which they dug out to create another room. They started their marriage with a bed without tick or bedstead, a few benches Samuel had made, and $11.

Throughout the preceding year, tensions had increased between the pioneers and the Indians after the outbreak of the Walker War, which had begun over a confrontation with James Anderson Ivie in Springville in which a relative of Chief Walker was killed, prompting Brigham to order fortification of all the vulnerable settlements. That fall construction began to convert Wight's settlement into Wight's Fort, which involved Lewis and his two boys, Lyman and Charles, and five other men.[223] Lewis wrote:

> The fort had four walls made of dirt, logs, and stones large enough to enclose and protect seven log homes. (Bingham) Creek…ran through the fort. There were several outhouses built. The fort had two large gates, one on the east and one on the west. During the winter even before the fort was finished, many of the men had moved their families in.



Wight's Fort as described by descendents of the builders. Illustration is by West Jordan High School student Jennifer Turpin, circa 1995.

In his diary entry for Christmas Eve, 1854, James Kilfoyle wrote:

> Meeting in the new meetinghouse in Br. Wight's settlement. Dedicated the house and all that appertained to it. Prayer Meeting at Becksteads (near the mill) the same evening. The next day rebaptized several in the Jordan, then repaired to the meetinghouse to Br. Wight's settlement. Partook of dinner which was prepared by the sisters.

The fort was finished in time for Charles Wight Jr. to be born there April 26. The histories of Wight's Fort cemetery claim that the first burial there was an unknown Indian child around 1853, and beside that child Lyman and Harriet Wight buried their firstborn,[224] the first white child in the cemetery which served all of West Jordan for many decades to follow. In later years Joseph Stacy Murdock's daughter Sarah Ann[225] recalled how hard life was at Wight's Fort. "We moved to White's (sic) Fort about three miles from the River Jordan. The Indians were very bad, so we had to be careful. They would get some firewater and start shooting at our houses."

But Indians weren't the worst of their worries. Although one of the most famous stories in Mormon history is the cricket plague and the miraculous rescue by seagulls in 1848, grasshopper invasions were a

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[223] The eight builders were Lewis, Lyman, and Charles Wight, Sheldon Cutler (married to Sally Wight), John Irving, Joseph Stacy Murdock, John Loveless, and John Elmer.

[224] That must have actually been their second child, Martha, sometime in 1855.

[225] Sarah Ann was only three at the time. (Joseph Murdock's family had been settlers of Provo. They moved into Wight's Fort June 30, but left for Payson on November 13, 1855 on account of the grasshoppers.)

persistent and recurring problem for 19th century Mormons which was even more severe than crickets. Probably the worst of all years for grasshoppers was 1855. That year the *Deseret News* described them on June 25: "The grasshoppers filled the sky for three miles deep, or as far as they could be seen without the aid of telescopes, and somewhat resembling a snowstorm." Grasshoppers would fly overhead several hours a day for two or three weeks. The drouth of 1855 compounded the problem. Grasshoppers had appeared in Utah nearly every year since 1851, but in 1855 it was estimated that 70% of grains, vegetables, and fruits had been destroyed, the worst year of the century. The first, second, and third sowings of wheat, corn and buckwheat were destroyed. This was compounded by a greatly reduced runoff from mountain snows and by the immigration that year of 4,225 new persons to the Valley, not to mention the increasing pressure on the herds by starving Indians.[226] The farms south of Salt Lake City were nearly a desert. The Church and most cattle owners moved their herds to higher winter areas for feed, and then winter came early and was the most severe since the Mormons arrived in 1847.

The Wight/Bateman family was caught right in the middle of it, and their plight was magnified by their responsibility to preserve the Church's cattle herd.

Samuel's boss Sheldon Cutler, who had married Sally Wight and helped to construct Wight's Fort, was surprised by a mission call just as the fort was being completed and left his family on May 8, 1855, in the company of 40 other missionaries to establish a settlement in the Elk Mountains on the Grand River.[227] The mission was a failure due to opposition from the local Indians and the deaths of three of the missionaries, and Sheldon was back in Wight's Fort by October. Fortunately, he kept a historic journal[228] recording every day of his mission and seven months after his return, giving a unique perspective not just on the mission but also on the subsequent move of the Wight family to Box Elder.

Sheldon Bela Cutler

The settlement of Box Elder[229] had begun in the spring of 1851 by William Davis, James Brooks, and Thomas Pierce, who were joined in the fall by several other families, who built a fort for protection from around 500 Shoshones, who had surrounded them that winter. They left the fort to plant their crops the following spring, but with the outbreak of the Walker War in July 1853, Brigham ordered them again into a fort for the next two winters. A better one was built using the backs of contiguous houses as the outer wall. At the October Conference in 1853 it was reported that 204 people were living along Box Elder Creek when Lorenzo Snow was called to gather 50 additional families to augment the population.

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[226] Davis Bitton and Linda P. Wilcox*, Pestiferous Ironclads: The Grasshopper Problem in Pioneer Utah*, Utah Historical Quarterly (Volume 46, Number 4, Fall 1978.)

[227] The "Elk Mountains" are now called the La Sal Range and the Grand River is the Colorado. The fort that they raised was in present day Moab, Utah.

[228] Sheldon B. Cutler Journal, 1855 May-1856 May, Church History Library, Call Number MS 14561.

[229] The town was not called Brigham City until it was incorporated in 1867.

Wilford Woodruff made a visit to Box Elder in December 1854 and found sixty families living there, mostly poor Welch and Danes. In May 1855 Elder Snow moved his own family to Box Elder and found it in very poor shape. The log meetinghouse had a dirt floor and roof and was filled with bedbugs. He moved his family into an adobe hut, the only available lodging, until he could put up a 1½ story frame house that summer. When the touring Nauvoo Brass Band visited the settlement that August, the band leader reported there had been a terrible descent of grasshoppers and extreme drought prior to their arrival, worsened by raids on the fields by the Indians from Fort Hall, now in Idaho. Apparently, the Box Elder settlers were no better off than those who would arrive that fall from Wight's Fort.

By the time Sheldon Cutler reached home from his mission on October 9, 1855, the decision had already been made to transfer the Church herds to Box Elder, where there the Bear River provided ample vegetation in the wetlands where it emptied into the Great Salt Lake.

I will try to relate the story of that move from his diary. Although Cutler reports the activities of nearly every day, the entries are typically only a single sentence and are given in the first person as if he were alone, which cannot have been the case. It requires imagination to fill in the blanks as we parse his sparse entries.

Sheldon spent the first two weeks after returning from his mission visiting friends and family and digging potatoes. He went to Millcreek, probably to visit Lyman and Harriet, and the next day he visited his mother in Salt Lake City. On October 22 he started out for Box Elder with his brother-in-law, Charles Wight, but they got no further than the "the city" where they met up with T. Bateman (Mary's son Thomas, then 19 years old) and "Brother Hansen"[230] and stayed the night with them before returning to spend another week at home during which Sheldon cut wood in Bingham Canyon, took it to the lumber mill, and sold it in Salt Lake City to raise money for the journey. The rest of the week was spent repairing wagons and wagon wheels, and "fixing to move."

On October 31 he wrote, "I loaded our wagons and started. Drove 10 miles and camped for the night." This suggests multiple travelers, probably including Lewis and Charles Wight and Jens Hansen. They passed through "the city" about noon and arrived at the Church pasture, where they may have picked up animals, and camped for the night. They passed by Kay's Fort (later Kaysville), Weber Fort, and Bingham's Fort before arriving near Box Elder on November 6, where they camped several miles outside the town, having driven the herd about 70 miles in a week, and settled several miles west of the village where there was feed and water for the cattle.

The next day they visited Box Elder town and proceeded beyond it to harvest logs and take them to the sawmill.[231] They attended Sunday meeting, and on Monday Sheldon drove a wagon to Ogden for a load of wheat to feed them through the winter and butchered a beef. He hunted cattle the next Sunday instead of attending meeting. On November 22, 1855, Sheldon wrote, "Father went back for his family" and on the next day, "Went back after my family." The family that Lewis Wight brought back was his

[230]Jens Hansen had arrived in Salt Lake City from Denmark in 1854 with his family and moved immediately to Box Elder, one of the 50 families recruited by Lorenzo Snow. The next year Hansen worked with the Wights caring for the church cattle. Hansen later built a sawmill and herded sheep, at one time donating 1,500 head to the United Order. He owned land two miles north of town adjacent to Lorenzo Snow and was imprisoned in the 1880s for polygamy.

[231] This was one of many sawmills erected in Utah by Fred Kesler, the miller the Batemans had known in Augusta.

first wife, Nancy, with their children Joseph and William, ages 11 and five. Mary and her six unmarried children remained at Wight's Fort for about another year. Lyman and Harriet Wight remained in Millcreek.

Sheldon was back to camp with Sally and four-year-old Sheldon Jr. by November 25, when Sheldon built a sheep corral.[232] The next four days were spent building a house into which the Cutler family moved by November 29, a simple house for sure. During December he made several trips into town to grind wheat and to mill lumber, each time considerably hindered by deep snow, which sometimes compelled him to stay overnight at Charles Wight's house, situated between the Cutler house and the town. On Christmas Day he wrote, "Father and myself spent Christmas in cutting ice, pulling a cow out of the slew (slough), skinning, and so forth." They had not been able to save the cow and were preparing to use the hide and the meat. During the next week several more cows got stuck in the slough and had to be butchered. On New Year's Eve Sheldon wrote "Br. Hansen and myself took between one and two hundred head of cattle to a large bend in the river (and) cut the ice so they could get water." They did it again on the following day. Sheldon spent January 5, 1856, herding cattle but found enough time to write, "Br. Hunter arrived here this evening, brought good news." This would have been Elder Edward Hunter, his boss, the Presiding Bishop. I wonder what that good news was. Two days later after church, he and Hunter hitched up a team and inspected the cattle. "They looked well after a long spell of weather. Br. Hunter started home this evening."

Through the rest of January Sheldon moved with the cattle up and down the river as needed, which required him to move his camp three times. His family was in the shanty he had built in November, but on February 3 he moved them to the city. This makes me think that most of the Wight family spent the winter housed in Box Elder Fort, leaving it to the young men to stay with the animals. Sheldon wrote on February 7, "Father came down and we went back and got the sheep." And on Feb 13, "moved up to the city." Three days later he drove the cattle up on the side of the mountain and stayed with them until February 23 when Bishop Hunter returned, and five days later the Wight boys and Jens Hansen drove the herd to Salt Lake City, where Sheldon got a bit of vacation. He arrived March 1, heard Brigham Young speak at the tabernacle, "rambled around the city," settled his tithing, and on the fifth went down to Millcreek to visit Lyman and Harriet, who had not yet joined the family in Box Elder. By March 17 Sheldon had returned and looked around Box Elder to buy a city lot.[233] Sadly, the diary ended May 1.

A letter written to Bishop Hunter by Lewis Wight on August 20, 1856, illustrates their working relationship.

> I am sending your heifer to you by Bro. John Williams.[234] Sheldon Cutler is a going down this week and I would like to have you loan a hoss ready for him to fetch back with him. I expect to

[232] In his brief autobiography, Lyman Wight mentioned that they herded cattle, sheep, and cows for the Church in Box Elder.

[233] Looking at the 1860 census, Sheldon's family was not close to the other Wight families, who lived closer to Lorenzo Snow.

[234] John Jones Williams was an expert blacksmith, a Welshman who had apprenticed seven years at the King's stables in London before joining the Church in Wales and immigrating to Zion with a young wife. He encountered Edward Hunter, who was then the Bishop at Council Bluffs, before crossing the plains. Williams was a captain of 20, and also the blacksmith to his entire wagon company, keeping the horses and oxen shod and repairing wagons across the plains. Upon arrival in Utah Territory in October 1853, he lived at Millcreek for two years before moving

> come down for conference. Our taxes (on the grazing land) is $24.75 and they won't take anything on taxes but cash or wheat or territorial orders. If you can get territorial orders for us instead of all tithing orders, please send them up by Bro. Williams and it (would) confer on us great honor for this will be 10 percent added onto the loans the first of next month. If it should be convenient to send your orders, then you will pay our taxes. They will fetch wheat here. You mentioned about our tithing, the colt in the note you sent me—if you think the colt will do to you, consider that sent up but act your own judgment about it. Yours truly, Lewis Wight.

Without the Wights and Sheldon Cutler around to provide employment, Samuel Bateman spent that summer cutting logs in Big Cottonwood Canyon for Richard Maxfield, who built the first road into the canyon and ran four sawmills there. Samuel and Marinda lost their first son, Samuel Allen Bateman in October at 10 months of age.

That fall Harriet and Lyman joined the rest of the Wight family in Box Elder and Lyman started a lumber mill. He wrote that they lived on a farm about 7½ miles west of the city on the banks of the Bear River to take care of the Church's cattle, sheep, and cows.

Harriet Bateman Wight

In October two grandchildren were added to the family in Box Elder: Harriet's daughter Mary Elizabeth Wight, followed nine days later by Sarah Wight Cutler's boy Ephraim. Mary Bateman had moved from Wight's Fort to Box Elder that fall at Harriet's urging, probably in time to help with the deliveries of the two babies, bringing all of her unmarried children with her except Thomas, her 20-year-old, who was working with his brother Samuel.

The following winter was very harsh, killing most of the cattle from exposure and lack of food. Lyman Wight wrote that only one cow survived in his herd that winter.[235] Maggie Bateman also recalled that this winter was very harsh. The Indians taught them to dig up sego lily bulbs to cook and eat. That winter may have been the time that James Morgan Bateman was recalling when he said that he once went six months without tasting bread—only sego lilies. When he finally got bread, he had to gradually adjust his stomach to it.

Little is known of Mary Bateman and her family during her year and a half in Box Elder, but it was an eventful and stressful time for everyone who lived in Utah. It was in the fall of 1856 that Brigham Young was made aware of the plight of the Martin and Willie Companies. The first rescue party met the handcarts on October 19. When the Willie Company arrived in Salt Lake City on November 9, sixty-eight members had died.

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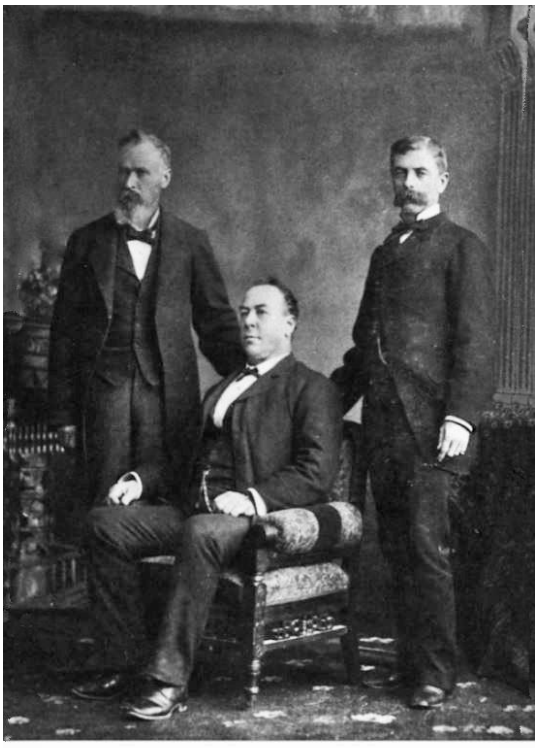
to Box Elder as one of Lorenzo Snow's 50 recruited families. He traveled extensively throughout the territory collecting scrap iron.

[235] Of the Church's cattle herd of 2,000 only 420 survived the winter. Private herds suffered the same rate of loss. (Davis Bitton and Linda P. Wilcox, *Pestiferous Ironclads: The Grasshopper Problem in Pioneer Utah*, Utah Historical Quarterly (Volume 46, Number 4, Fall 1978).

As the draught and economic disruption continued, Brigham Young concluded in September that the Church needed a thorough reform.[236] His first counselor, Jedediah M. Grant took interest in the cause and led a movement now known as the Mormon Reformation beginning with a four-day conference in nearby Kaysville in which 500 church members were re-baptized. The movement spread rapidly through all the Mormon settlements. In December the entire all-Mormon Utah Territorial Legislature was rebaptized and reconfirmed by the Quorum of the Twelve. The movement, which extended through 1857, did much to consolidate and strengthen the faithful members, but also heightened tensions between them and less faithful members and their gentile neighbors. On January 13, 1857, a Mormon named Jarvis was attacked in his shop by a band of ruffians after declaring his intention to leave for the states in opposition to the Reformation. Authorities told Mrs. Jarvis to "let it slide." It was never mentioned in the newspaper. In February four men (John Williams, John C. Peltro, John Tobin, and one unidentified) were attacked in the Santa Clara River area as they were leaving Utah for California along with a military surveyor and John Tobin, who was suspected of being an apostate. Tobin was a son-in-law to Charles C. Rich, the apostle. Three escaped and Tobin was left for dead. Tobin recovered and managed to flee with the help of the mail coach all the way to San Bernardino to the sanctuary of the Rakabites, a dissenting local group of Mormons. When word reached California the Mormons in the St. George area were blamed for the attack. Reports that Porter Rockwell had been sighted to presumably finish the job on the travelers were circulated, arousing both sides, but he was already on his way east to exercise the Church's new U.S. mail contract out of Independence, Missouri. The same month other violence had arisen between the faithful and the apostate Mormons in San Bernardino.[237]

Joseph Bateman, who turned 19 that December, didn't stay in Box Elder very long, rejoining his two older brothers in West Jordan sometime before March 21, 1857, when he was rebaptized by C. H. Rammele and confirmed by John Bennion and S. Egbert, possibly responding to the new reformation movement.

On April 23, 1857, Mary's son-in-law Phillip Margetts was called on a mission to England, one of 70 missionaries called in General Conference to various destinations, who crossed the plains eastward by handcart, about three missionaries per vehicle. Henry Herriman and Robert Gardner from West Jordan were also among the group. So was Daniel Mackintosh, the former journalist for the *Frontier Guardian*, who had excoriated Thomas Bateman several years earlier and was now the group's clerk. Margetts left his wife Elizabeth Bateman in the 17th Ward with three children ages five and younger. The handcart missionaries were seen off by the Nauvoo Brass Band and over 2,000 people who accompanied them to the east bench of the Valley with Brigham Young at the rear in a



In 1880, twenty-three years after the 1857 handcart mission, three cart-mates posed for this formal portrait: Left: David Wilkin, Phillip Margetts (seated), and Seymour B. Young. PH 3037. Courtesy LDS Church Library.

[236] Michael Orme, *The Causes of the Mormon Reformation of 1856-57*. BYU Library.
[237] Parshall, Ardis E., *Pursue, Retake and Punish": The 1857 Santa Clara Ambush.*

chaise.[238] They got off to a difficult start, encountering to 12 feet of snow on the summit of East Canyon according to Margetts, forcing the men to carry the carts over it, and torrential run-off in the creeks, which they were forced to cross. It took them a week to reach Fort Bridger. Things got better on the plains, allowing them to cover nearly 30 miles a day once they made it across the swollen Green River. They encountered Porter Rockwell at the mail station which he had set up at Horseshoe Creek, Wyoming, who a few months later would be hurrying back with news that the Mormons had lost the mail contract and of the plans of the U.S. Army to invade Utah. The missionaries reached Florence, Nebraska on June 10, 1857, having covered 1,031 miles in 40 days. From there the company split up for their various proselyting destinations.

Tensions between Mormons and non-Mormons increased when in May when it was learned that Parley P. Pratt had been murdered in Arkansas by Hector McLean, the estranged husband of one of Pratt's plural wives. Many Mormons viewed the death as a martyrdom. Some blamed the death on the people of Arkansas, which may have played a role in the massacre at Mountain Meadows a few months later.

During the summer of 1857 Samuel and Joseph Bateman were farming east of the Jordan in the Big Field, raising 700 bushels of grain.

At the Pioneer Day celebration in Big Cottonwood Canyon, Porter Rockwell reached Brigham Young with the disturbing news that the U.S. Army was mobilizing at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas against the Mormons. In August Brigham activated the Nauvoo Legion, which included all able-bodied men in the territory between 15 and 60 years old and sent a reconnaissance unit under militia Colonel Robert T. Burton to observe the oncoming regiments and protect L.D.S. immigrants traveling the Mormon trail.

Unbeknownst to the Batemans and the Wights in Box Elder, a group of California immigrants traveling from Arkansas was brutally attacked by a Mormon militia group that September at a resting spot on the trail in the Pine Valley Mountains 50 miles west of Cedar City known as Mountain Meadows. About 120 were killed. Thomas Bateman's nephew William Bateman was a member of the militia.[239]

William Bateman

That month Brigham Young advised Mormons in Salt Lake City and the northern valleys to prepare to evacuate and sent Colonel Robert T. Burton and 70 Nauvoo legionnaires to Devil's Gate to cache provisions for defensive action. Legion Major Daniel R. Allen asked his son-in-law Samuel Bateman to raise a platoon of cavalry to meet Johnston's Army. On September 26 Samuel left West Jordan with 12 local boys for the city, where they were organized into companies and arrived at Fort Bridger on September 30. He had been appointed head of a platoon of 10 men who were among those who encountered the army at Black Fork and turned back. They located about 50 supply wagons and burned most of them, taking their drivers prisoner. When they returned to Ft. Bridger and found it had

[238] Karen Ann Griggs, *Handcarts Going East*, Journal of Mormon History, Vo. 35. No. 2, pp. 191-237.
[239] Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadow Massacre*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, page 73.

been burned down by Porter Rockwell and the legion they were compelled to subsist for a while on turnips and potatoes from a nearby field. Samuel was reluctantly discharged late that year.

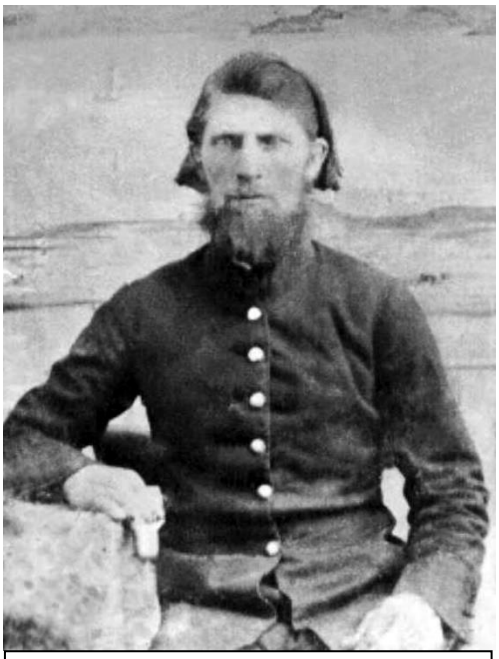
About that time six Californians led by two gamblers named Aiken, who had left a wagon party traveling from the west bound for Box Elder, were arrested by Lot Smith at Bear River Fort and taken to Ogden for questioning as possible U.S. government spies attempting to join up with the advancing army. Forbidden to contact the army they were released to return to California via the southern route but were attacked and killed by Mormon vigilantes a few miles north of Nephi, Utah further increasing tensions.

In November 1857 a man named Christopher J. Arthur wrote in his journal that he had engaged William Bateman, brickmaker and brick layer, to build a house for him in Cedar City. "I asked him if he had enough brick to put up a room connecting and front of an adobe room on the lot bought off Bro. Morris. He answered, 'Yes, if you will let me do the building, as the brick need careful handling and I will take pains to put them up in shape.' We agreed upon the price and the building part, and I told him to start right away. He did so." So, Joseph Bateman's son William was still in Cedar City two months after the massacre, still working with brick, but he left sometime before 1859. He was living on the east side of the Jordan River at Dry Creek in 1861, and around 1866 moved his family to Cache County, where he died the next year following seven months of rheumatic fever at the age of 43.

In Box Elder, Harriet's husband Lyman Wight married a second wife named Christine Olsen on the first day of 1858. She was a 23-year-old Dane who had arrived that fall with two sisters via handcart.[240] He took her and Harriet to the Endowment House in Salt Lake and had both of them sealed to him on January 31.

Samuel was back to work at the sawmill in West Jordan in early 1858.

That January Brigham Young ordered the stakes and wards to raise an army of 1,000 men for one year. On February 25 Thomas L. Kane, the old friend of the Mormons,[241] arrived in Salt Lake via San Bernardino to aid peace negotiations. In a special conference Brigham Young announced and began to execute the contingency plans, planning to evacuate all the territory north of Point of the Mountain and send 500 families to the White Mountains in Nevada. During the exodus, Samuel Bateman was appointed among others to



Lyman Wight

[240] The handcart company was led by C.C.C. Christensen, who became a famous Mormon artist.

[241] Kane, after meeting the Mormons in Philadelphia, helped them to deal with the federal government in creating the Mormon Battalion and getting permission for them to settle on Indian lands in Pottawatomie County, Iowa and in Nebraska in 1846 and in creating the Utah Territory in 1850. After President Millard Fillmore asked Kane to be the territory's first governor he declined and successfully recommended Brigham Young. From *Wikipedia* article on Kane.

watch the movements of the enemy and report back to Brigham Young. Missionaries throughout the world were called back.

On March 22 Warren Foote,[242] who was living in Fort Union not far from Dry Creek, was hired by Archibald Gardner to grind flour in the West Jordan mill for the evacuees. Foote had worked for Gardner from November 1850 to March 1851 before moving to Cottonwood. Before taking the new job, he moved his family to American Fork, and then to the Dry Creek in Utah County, four or five miles below Mountainville (now Alpine.) Foote's personal journal sheds an interesting light on the massive process of removal from the Valley.

On March 24 leaders of the Salt Lake and nearby wards were instructed regarding provisional destinations in Utah, Juab, Millard, and Iron Counties. The thousand militia men were requisitioned to maintain patrols in Echo Canyon and to protect property in the abandoned settlements.

Acting Bishop Joseph Harker of the West Jordan Ward was also keeping a useful journal. He wrote that he held a meeting on March 25 at the Mill Branch to discuss the evacuation. The brethren wished the ward to move together.

On March 29 word arrived that Federal Governor designee Alfred Cumming, who had accompanied the army, agreed to come to Salt Lake City to meet with Brigham Young in spite of General Johnston's objections. Five days later the California mail brought news that the U. S. Senate had turned down President Buchanan's request for an increase in regular army strength, which encouraged the Mormons that things might be turning in their favor. On April 1 a two-day fast was undertaken throughout the Valley to raise money for the poor, and Brigham Young and other leaders began moving their own families south to Provo. Bishop Harker recorded that his ward met at Jordan Mill that day to discuss arrangements to move his ward's poor south and sent the bishop ahead to prepare a place for them.

Foote wrote, "The poor were to be helped first and to begin tomorrow, and to get into Utah County at least. In a few days the State Road was lined with teams loaded with families and provisions, and within a week our large mill was filled full of…wheat to be ground and packed." Foote, with a young assistant named James C. Walker and two other workers, worked 16 hours a day producing 14-16 bushels of flour per hour. The rush continued six or seven weeks. Teams were constantly on the road going and coming from the south, day and night. Archibald Gardner moved his family to Spanish Fork, leaving Walker and Foote to run the mill.

It was about this time that Mary and her four youngest children left Box Elder for Payson among a large group of women and children, most of the men having been detained for military and guard duty. Sixteen-year-old James acted as head of the Bateman family. Maggie wrote that she and her mother walked 110 miles to get there. Among the group was Lewis Wight's first wife, Nancy, who probably took along her youngest child William, who was eight, and possibly 14-year-old Joseph. I have not been able to verify with certainty whether the rest of the Wight women were with them but believe that Harriet went south too, although Lyman's new wife Christina seems to have stayed with him in Box Elder.[243] Sally Wight Cutler probably accompanied them with three small boys, and also Charles Wight's wife

[242] Foote joined the Church in 1833 and moved with his family to Kirtland. He witnessed the Hawn's Mill massacre in 1838 and served as a Seventy in Nauvoo. He ran a grist mill and sawmill in Kanesville for four years and was a captain of 100 in a wagon train to Deseret in 1850.

[243] I base this on the estimated conception date for Christina's first child Almon of May 25, 1858.

Sarah Ellen with three children, one of which was a newborn. Sarah Ellen's parents, John and Rachel Loveless, had been driven from their farm on the east side of the Jordan River by the 1855 grasshopper devastation and were living in Payson, which may explain why the Box Elder group went to that particular town for shelter.

Governor Cumming and Thomas Kane arrived in Salt Lake City April 4 and the "amiable governor met no resistance in taking over his office and establishing a comfortable relationship with his predecessor (Brigham Young.)"[244]

On April 15 Bishop Harker wrote, "Went to Spanish Fork and Pondtown[245] and found farming land and good range for cattle. Stopped at Provo with W. G. Smith. On the way home met some thousand teams."

Later that month Brigham Young visited encampments of the Bountiful Ward and other wards along the lower Provo River. Centerville Ward went to Spanish Fork. Big Cottonwood Ward aimed for Beaver, but most members settled north of the Provo River. An estimated 30,000 people moved—10,000 from outside the city and the rest from within--requiring 800 wagons per day. In late May, the Church counted only 2,400 people remaining in Salt Lake City, and many of them were people moving through from northern Utah.

On May 8 Harker wrote, "Left my home with my family and camped near the Point of Mountain." Two days later they were camped with the ward's poor families in Pondtown when he wrote, "My wife was very sick. Spent the next few weeks farming, building corrals, etc." This was just in preparation for the wealthier people of his ward, who were still in the Valley.

People were moving out while Brigham Young met with Cumming and peace commissioners on the 13th. Bishop Harker returned to the West Jordan Ward to move the rest of the families. He said that they were "loathful to go," but by June 22 they had moved their camp to the south end of Utah Lake. They were probably just reaching Pondtown when General Johnston and almost 5,000 men[246] marched through Salt Lake City and West Jordan to Camp Floyd west of Point of the Mountain on June 26. By then only about 1,500 Mormons remained in all the northern settlements, some of whom had military assignments to protect or torch property as might be ordered.

With the crisis ended, Brigham Young announced on June 30 that he was going back home with his family, and the Saints were at liberty to follow.[247] Most families were gone for 2-3 months. Harker wrote tersely on July 3, "We returned home to our farms. We had lost some of our cattle."

It makes sense to me, that when Mary and the Bateman children traveled south with the Box Elder group, she soon came into contact with the Saints from West Jordan, who were camped just a few miles from Payson in Pondtown, now Salem. Mary and the Wight women with their families were in Payson about three months and probably witnessed the infamous Jones incident on April 23.[248] The Batemans

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[244] Poll, Richard, D., *The Move South*, BYU Studies. Journal 29:4, p. 70.
[245] Pondtown is now Salem near Payson.
[246] David Roberts, *The Brink of War*, Smithsonian Magazine, June 2008. This was a third of the entire U.S. Army at the time.
[247] Poll, p. 82.
[248] The Jones family had fled Salt Lake City as part of the evacuation of Salt Lake Valley. Hannah Jones and her family took shelter in Payson, where a dugout was put up for them, but after hearing a rumor of incest between

may have returned on July 3 with Bishop Harker and their old ward members to the banks of the Jordan. Mary never again lived in Box Elder. She and the four children moved into a dugout in the west bank of the Jordan River on her son Samuel's property until fall[249] when James and William, then 17 and 15 years old, built her a one room cabin, probably at Dry Creek.

The return of the Utah War refugees was uncoordinated, spanning July and part of August. Phillip Margetts returned early from his mission in England in June to learn that Elizabeth and the children were in Cedar City. Brigham Young provided him with a wagon to bring them back. It was not until fall, that ward meetings were resumed on an as-needed basis. The old Salt Lake Tabernacle was not put back into use until 1859. The Relief Society did not revive until a decade later.

In March or April of the year 1859[250] the West Jordan Ward was organized with a new bishop--the miller Archibald Gardner, with Daniel R. Allen and Royal B. Cutler counselors. Gardner would serve in that office for 33 years. Meetings were held at a log house near Alexander Beckstead's. The ward included everyone living west of the river and on "a small tract of land on the east side," which was Dry Creek. Branches of the ward were organized at "North Jordan" (now Taylorsville) and later in South Jordan.

Bishop Archibald Gardner

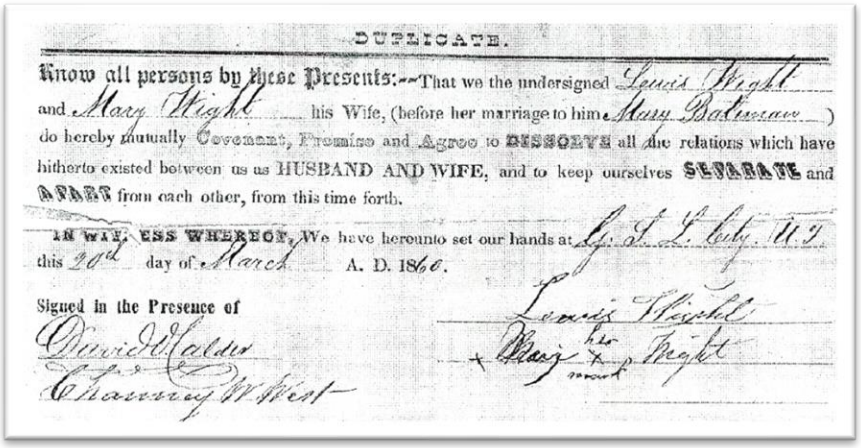
Maggie Bateman told of Indians approaching the cabin when she and Martha were 10 and 12. The settlers had heard talk that they were coming to avenge the death of one of the braves. The girls were alone when they heard the howling of the Indians as they approached. Martha grabbed an ax, but Maggie dived into bed and pulled the covers over her head. Their mother and brothers in the fields heard the ruckus and came running to scare the Indians away.[251] That summer Samuel and his brothers worked together, Samuel sawing logs and James and William hauling them, and all tended the farm.

Hannah and her oldest son Henry, a mob of local Payson men killed both of them. For the full story, see my book, *Letters of Books and Slates*, pages 286-287. https://www.familysearch.org/library/books/records/item/782370-redirection

[249] James A. Oliver, *Biography of Samuel Bateman*.

[250] William G. Hartley, *The Miller, the Bishop, and the "Move South*. B.Y.U. Studies, Journal 20:1. Delila Gardner Hughes, *The Life of Archibald Gardner*, Alpine publishing Co. 1939, p. 72 quotes a newspaper article March 8, 1859 reporting that Brigham Young had summoned Archibald from Spanish Fork to appoint him bishop.

[251] Familysearch.org, Memories, KWZH-ML7.



DUPLICATE.

Know all persons by these Presents:—That we the undersigned Lewis Wight and Mary Wight his Wife, (before her marriage to him Mary Bateman) do hereby mutually Covenant, Promise and Agree to DISSOLVE all the relations which have hitherto existed between us as HUSBAND AND WIFE, and to keep ourselves SEPARATE and APART from each other, from this time forth.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, We have hereunto set our hands at G. S. L. City, U. T. this 20th day of March A. D. 1860.

Signed in the Presence of

David Calder

Chauncy W West

Lewis Wight

Mary her + mark Wight

On March 20, 1860, a divorce was granted between Mary Bateman and Lewis Wight. From the document it appears that it might have been a civil action administered by the territorial government, but the witnesses had Church responsibilities as well. The first witness, David O. Calder, was Brigham Young's personal secretary, but also the Territorial Treasurer. The second witness, Chauncy W. West was the Presiding Bishop of Weber County. The certificate seems to have been made out by Calder. The signatures of Lewis and Mary were probably made by the same person, likely Lewis, since Mary made her mark of "x." It appears that neither Mary nor Thomas Bateman was literate. I do not know whether it was Lewis or Mary who sought the divorce, nor the exact reason.

The next month Wight's Fort was permanently abandoned. In the spring of 1860 a man by the name of Elisha Vanetten, knowing the value of the stream upon which the fort was built, took possession of Bingham Creek, leaving the fort entirely without water, and the last family, that of John Irving, was obliged to leave. Vanetten was a sheepman in West Jordan, who had a reputation for dishonesty.[252] All that remains now of the fort is a cemetery and a historical plaque.

That May, Samuel Bateman bought advertising space in the *Deseret News* for two weeks offering a reward for information regarding the whereabouts of his dark speckled cow with both horns broken off and no visible brands. It had disappeared from his home at West Jordan Mills.

The U.S. Census was counted as of August 18, 1860. It showed that Mary was living with five of her six unmarried children: Thomas 24, James 18, William 16, Martha Ann 13, and Maggie 11. Joseph's son William Bateman 36, Mary's nephew, was living in the adjacent house with seven kids. Her nephew William had moved up from Cedar City. It is clear from looking at her neighbors in the census, that Mary and the children were living on the east side of the Jordan River, most likely again in Dry Creek.[253] Her immediate neighbors with lower house numbers in the census all lived along the east bank of the Jordan River, progressively further southward to Draper. The locations of those closest to her with higher numbers were harder to determine but trended northward, also on the east of the river.

They were all located a considerable distance from Samuel, who was living 46 houses away near his in-laws, the Allens, on the west side of Jordan. Samuel was also neighbors to the Becksteads and Egberts, which places his residence very near to the Gardner Mill. Mary's 22-year-old son Joseph Bateman was

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[252] *Salt Lake Herald-Republican,* August 12, 1874. https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6d233sm

[253] I'm quite certain that the Dry Creek settlement was located about where the creek runs through the River Oaks Golf Course by the Jordan River Parkway Trail. When I visited there in November 2021 the creek was not dry, containing about two inches of water running over mossy rocks, narrow enough to jump across were it not for the willows.

Joseph Bateman

living in the Allen household, listed as a farm laborer. Just six weeks later Joseph would marry Mary Eliza Allen, who was still a month shy of 15 years old, a sister to Samuel's wife Marinda. After their marriage the couple moved to Alpine. In 1863 Joseph took up a homestead northeast of Alpine which was called Bateman Grove. He brought some sheep with him and made a living by farming and raising sheep, eventually becoming very prosperous. They had 13 children and lived there until Joseph died in 1890.

Samuel worked at the saw mill the summer and fall of 1860. He performed the baptism of his youngest sister Maggie in the Jordan River on October 23.

Two weeks later, Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. Telegraph service to the east was completed in Salt Lake City on January 18, 1861 and joined to the west later the same year. It was a difficult year for farmers, leading to a lean winter for the Batemans.

Fort Sumter in South Carolina had been attacked, fulfilling Joseph Smith's prophecy[254] and launching the Civil War, which led to 1,500 federal troops leaving Fort Floyd in July to join the conflict, much to the relief of Brigham Young. The rest of the soldiers left a year later, however Colonel Patrick Edward Conner was soon sent with troops from California to protect overland travel routes from the Indians and to keep the Mormons in check, reaching the nearly empty Camp Floyd on October 17. His troops marched through the city three days later, surprised by a welcoming parade of peace-seeking Mormons, and established Ft. Douglas on the east side of the city, where they stayed until 1865.

Mary Lavender

In June Mary's nephew William Bateman married Elizabeth Lavender, his wife's younger cousin, in polygamy. Another Bateman/Lavender wedding followed next door in September when Mary's son Thomas married Elizabeth's sister, Mary Lavender.[255] Mary and Elizabeth had arrived with their sister Susan[256] in Daniel Robinson's handcart company the preceding August, their parents still in England saving up money for their own passage. Their uncle was James Lavender, whose relationship to the Batemans went back to Augusta. He met the girls as they arrived, placing Elizabeth into his own home on Joseph Bateman's lot on First West and finding homes for Mary and Susan in West Jordan where they could work for room and board.

There was high runoff in the spring of 1862, which washed away the bridges over the Jordan near Gardner's Mill and at Cottonwood Creek. Samuel worked that spring on the Bennion Bridge, keeping it in repair during the high water. Bishop Gardner built a ferry. Ezra T. Benson reported that the Logan River was a mile wide and the water so high they

[254] Doctrine and Covenants 87.
[255] They were sealed December 3, 1864, in the Endowment House.
[256] The following day, the third sister, Sarah Lavender, married James Miller.

had to use a boat to cross it.[257] That summer Samuel traveled with a team taking William Parker's threshing machine around the Salt Lake Valley.

The Homestead Act was passed by Congress and signed by President Lincoln on April 20, 1862.[258] The act, which had been stalled in Congress for about a decade until passage was made possible by the secession of the southern states who had blocked it, was based on a new idea for distributing federal lands, the doctrine of pre-emption or the right to settle on land first and pay later. Up to 160 acres of designated federal lands could be obtained by any U.S. citizen (or aspiring citizen) who was head of a family or over 21 years of age (and had not been a Rebel soldier), through a three-fold process: First, file an application with a local federal land office. Second, live on the land as a primary residence and make improvements such as a house or farm. Third, file for a deed of title after occupying the land for at least five years.

Apparently the two youngest Bateman brothers were right on top of that opportunity.[259] It would be a virtually free farm for them, generally costing only a $10 survey fee and $2 for the clerk. James and William went into the deal as equal partners, but the claim was in James' name, since he was head of the family and would be turning 21 just in time to qualify. Maggie Bateman recalled that the family moved onto the property in 1862, which is possible, but by law they could not have registered the claim on the land until after January 1, 1863. The location of this claim is uncertain, for James later abandoned it and reapplied in 1869, which pushed the awarding of the title to the land five years further into the future. His first claim may have been successfully challenged or possibly a better location was found by the family, so the initial claim could have been on either side of the Jordan River.

Their little sister, Maggie Bateman, who would have been 14 at the time, recalled that the brothers had just planted their crops when the grasshoppers came again and destroyed them. They dug trenches into which they drove the insects, killing forty bushels of them in one day. She said that during the Civil War foodstuffs and provisions were very high priced, sugar being $1 a pound and flour $24 per hundred pounds. After the grasshopper infestation, the people had to go back to sego lily bulbs and roots for a time. Maggie said that she had ten patches about three inches square on her gingham dress from using the sego digger.[260]

That year the South Jordan Branch was created from the West Jordan Ward, which later provided the name to the town of South Jordan. Nine families were in the new branch. A South Jordan church building combined with a school was built of adobe bricks. Later a new building known as the "mud temple" was built just west of the cemetery, which was used until 1908.

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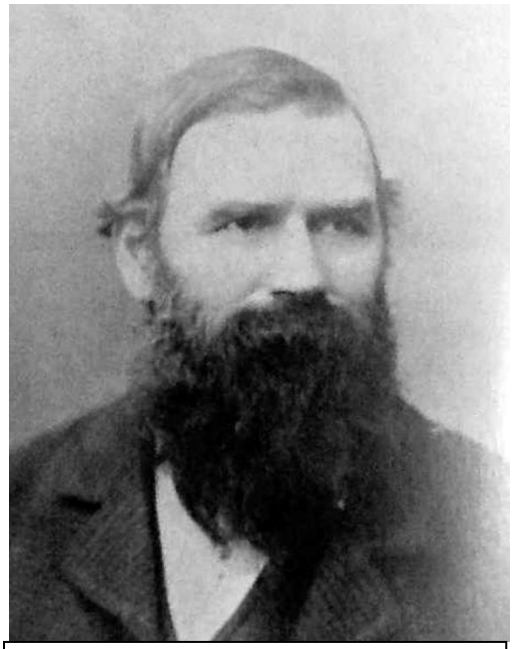
[257] *Documentary History of the Church.*

[258] The Homestead Act became law on January 1, 1863.

[259] James' older brother Joseph Bateman was also among the first to file a homestead claim. His was for 120 acres in Alpine, Utah.

[260] History of Margaret Bateman Davis, related by her daughter Lettie Pearl Davis Sanders, Memories KWZH-ML7.



Samuel Bateman

It was announced in March that Samuel Bateman had been appointed supervisor of roads in the West Jordan District, an office described by the newspaper as "not a very desirable one, and by no means lucrative… It is believed that each of the appointees will accept of the designation and do the best they can to make something out of nothing." This was one of many assignments during the coming decades that came to Samuel, who proved himself an able public servant. On April 21, 1863, Samuel joined John Irving, John Egbert, and Archibald Gardner in Brigham Young's party headed for St. George, catching up on horseback in Payson. They traveled through Sanpete County, taking dinner with Orson Hyde in Springtown, which Gardner called "a pretty little town that was three years old," and attending church at the Rock Meetinghouse in Manti and returning to Fort Ephraim for two meetings. They proceeded through Fillmore, Parowan, Toquerville, and arrived around May 5 in St. George. Samuel was increasingly busy filling assignments from Brigham Young during those years, which increased each decade. He was a part of the so-called Road Patrol, which the Church leader used for solving problems and carrying messages throughout the territory.

That fall while Samuel was working around the Valley with the threshing machine his family moved his cabin nearer to his brothers' farm. Previously it had stood near Bishop Gardner's Mill, which Marinda's father operated.

Mary Bateman's second youngest child, 17 year old Martha Ann Bateman, married Samuel Jenkins on February 13, 1865. Her new husband had come to Zion in 1863 with his father William, who opened a blacksmith shop in East Jordan. I suspect that Samuel Jenkins was working at the Gardner Mill, since the couple located close to it after their marriage.

Utah's Blackhawk War broke out in the spring of 1865 in Sanpete County at about the time of Abraham Lincoln's assassination and lasted until an armistice was signed in August 1868. Samuel Bateman was elected captain of a battalion of cavalry in West Jordan, assigned by Nauvoo Legion Major General R. T. Burton in May 1866 to watch the movements of the Indians east and west of the Jordan River. His younger brother James served as a guard and William was called into the cavalry and served 107 days assigned to duty in Sanpete and Sevier.

That year James Morgan Bateman, Peter Garff, Isaac Goff, and other young men from the West Jordan Ward made two trips to Missouri with teams to bring back pioneer families.

West Jordan Rock Church

The Rock Church was dedicated in West Jordan on August 11, 1867, by Wilford Woodruff in a meeting attended by Brigham Young, John Taylor, George A. Smith, and George Q. Cannon of the Twelve, and Bishop Edward Hunter, as well as an unwelcome cloud of grasshoppers. The meeting was followed by a downpour which brought out the umbrellas of the crowd, of which less than a third were able to get inside the building. It had been six years in the making, and was finally completed only after Samuel Bateman, by then 29, Charles D. Haun, and William Turner, local military men, came to the rescue to raise enough money to build the roof by holding a military dance, which included the above-mentioned Mormon dignitaries, charging a dollar a person. Ward members had hauled red sandstone from the west mountains and granite from Little Cottonwood Canyon quarries to the site by ox teams. The walls were built three feet thick. The building cost $10,000 and housed a ward of nearly 600 members.[261]

An impressive Sunday school festival was reported by the *Deseret News* on June 1868 in which the middle and lower branches of the West Jordan Ward gathered at the Rock Church in a parade of which Samuel Bateman was the grand marshal. It involved an Arabian camel bearing a banner reading "We hail thee, our Prophet" and a military band, followed by all the male Sunday school scholars between four and twenty-four years of age, followed by the females. About a mile and half west of the church the crowd was addressed by Bishop Gardner and his counselors after which there were games of football, town ball, and prizes awarded to the scholars.

At the age of 32, Mary's second son, Thomas, died suddenly at his home in Cottonwood in October, leaving his handcart wife Mary Lavender with a 19-day-old baby boy and three other children ages six and under—Mary Elizabeth, Harriet, and John. Luckily for his little family, they lived next door to Mary's parents. Because schooling was free in West Jordan, but not in Cottonwood where it cost $3 per year, the two girls were sent to board with their grandmother Mary Bateman and the families of their uncles James and William in the winters.

Around the end of November that year Samuel was called on a mission to Dixie[262] which lasted five months, leaving Marinda on the farm. According to one of Samuel's biographies[263] his unmarried brothers, James and William, stayed in Samuel's house with Marinda during that time, since she was pregnant and taking care of six children under 12, but often they were away working on the incoming railroad or seeking other work wherever they could find it. Mary Bateman and her youngest daughter Maggie, who was by then nearly 20, took care of the cabin and farm. Samuel wrote to his brothers, "Do the best you can for me and mine and I hope the time will come when I shall be able to repay you."

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[261] The Rock Church was used until 1913 and the building still stands (as of 2021). Now called Pioneer Hall, the Old Rock Church adjoins the W. Jordan cemetery, very close to Gardner Village.
[262] He was tasked with colonizing Long Valley, about 35 miles west of Milford.
[263] Juliaetta Bateman Jensen, *Little Gold Pieces*, 1948, p. 46.

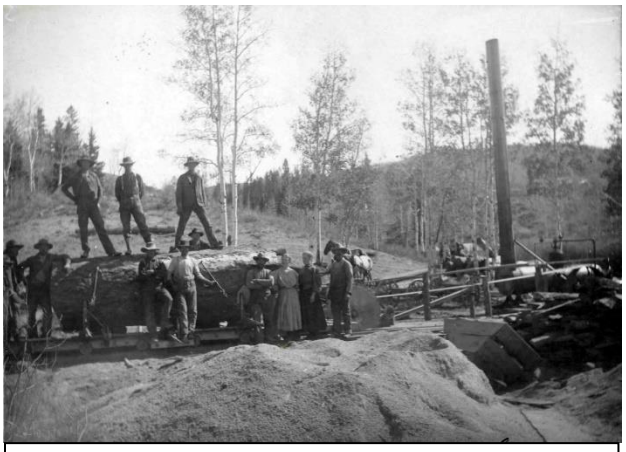
Many of the couple's letters during that time have been preserved and shed light on Mary and her children. Marinda wrote to Samuel that James had cut lumber to trade for their herd bill. Samuel wrote to James to be sure the house was fixed warm for the winter.

One of the letters in the collection was from William to Samuel on January 13, 1869 speaking of a trip to Box Elder:

> We have been up north a little over two weeks. I have just come home. They were all well when we left. James has stopped up there and I expect to go back. We are going to work on the railroad. While there we went over to the little mountain 15 miles west of Box Elder City. There is where we think of taking a job with Lyman and Charles (Wight). Railroad is all the go and there are a great many who have high flown ideas about it. Wages run from 2 dollars to 2 ½ and board. We was working in the canyon sliding wood about three weeks in the forepart of the winter. We slid about 28 cords and sold it to Samuel and Ralph Jenkins for 5 ½ dollars per cord at the bottom of the slide. We slid it down the hollow at the old Bateman Slide.

William Lehi Bateman

One of the ways that the younger brothers supported Mary and their own families was to haul ore from Bingham to Welby,[264] where it was loaded into cars. They would depart at 4 am leaving their wives to milk the cows.



Sliding logs for Gardner Mill

Getting the railroad completed was a huge economic driver for the Mormons that year, bringing employment and much-needed cash to the territory. Brigham Young, who had purchased $5,000 worth of stock in the project, was a great supporter. After construction began, he said, "Hurry up! Hasten the work! We want to hear the iron horse puffing through this valley. What for? To bring our brethren and sisters here."[265] True to his word to support the railroad, Young welcomed surveying parties and gave them supplies and guides. Later, he contracted with the UPRR to build the railroad through Echo and Weber Canyons in Utah. It makes sense to me that the work that James and William Bateman found with the project was in cutting or transporting railroad ties, since they had already been freighting and logging out of Bingham Canyon.

[264] Welby is a railroad junction a mile west of Wight's Fort.

[265] http://exhibits.usu.edu/exhibits/show/transcontinentalrailroad/anticipationandanxiety/latterdaysaints

On February 4 Marinda wrote: "James is up north yet, we have not heard what he is working at. William has gone to Cedar Valley with two or three others to burn coal. Joseph…is on his way to the railroad… Joseph says he wants you to take up some land for him for he intends to go back with you in the fall."

By the following week Marinda had learned more about James' activity in Box Elder. "James has not come home yet. I have heard that he is sparking that girl that lived with Harriet when you were there." She must have been speaking of Maria Watkins.

Maggie Bateman wrote to her brother Samuel on March 5, 1869:

> Dear Brother, I now sit down to write a few lines to tell you some good tiding of great joy and that is we are all well excepting Marinda, and she is as well as can be expected. She has a fine black headed daughter born at half past one today. It weighs 9 pounds. Samuel, the baby is the prettiest baby I ever saw, and it looks like the father.

James and William probably continued working on the railroad at Box Elder and on north around the Great Salt Lake to the meeting with the Central Pacific at Promontory Point on May 10, 1869. By then Samuel had returned home, but not in time to attend the birth of his eighth child, Janetta, who the next year tragically drowned in the mill canal at the age of 14 months.

On May 21 James Bateman was back in the land office in Salt Lake City to amend his homestead application, filing for the western half and lots 2 and 3 of section 26 in township 2S in range 1W, "abandoning an entry heretofore made under this act."[266] This amounted to 136 acres bounded on the west by the road to Taylorsville (later to become 13th West), on the east by the Jordan River, extending south from present 7000 South for a half mile, close to where Samuel would later build a new house just below a bend of the Gardner Millrace.

The claim required that the family immediately inhabit and begin improvements upon the land if they were not already living on it. The exact location of the cabin is not clear but was likely under the hill near the canal north of the bend in the millrace. When James applied five years later for title to the land he described his improvements as a comfortable log house of 32 x 14 feet with roof, floor, 4 doors, and 2 windows. He and William had cultivated 25 acres and put in 300 rods of fencing, water ditches, corral, stable, stockyard, orchard, and the entire property had a worth of at least $2,000.

Mary Elizabeth Bateman Dimond, the daughter of their brother Thomas wrote, "The piece of land in West Jordan that Uncle William and Uncle James had homesteaded and shared was under the hill (later known as Turpin's Hill) near the canal." They planned to build a larger house when they could afford it up on the bluff. The larger house would not be built until after 1876.

[266] U.S. Homestead Records, 1863-1908.

The work for the railroad enabled James and William to reconnect with the Wight family in Brigham City. Harriet Bateman's husband Lyman was also working on the railroad in Box Elder just a mile from his house. And it was probably Harriet, having already facilitated the unsuccessful match of her mother to her father-in-law, that introduced her two young bothers to two sisters named Maria Louisa and Sophronia Almina Watkins, ages 19 and 17. Their father, William Lampard Watkins,[267] who had lived in Cottonwood since 1852, moved his family to Box Elder in 1861 about three years after the Bateman boys had left town with their mother and younger sisters for Payson during the Johnston's Army scare.

James and Maria's wedding photo

James Morgan Bateman married Maria Louisa Watkins in the Endowment House on November 1, 1869. It seems likely that they made their first home in West Jordan, for they were both in the cabin on his homestead on the west bank of the Jordan River for the census on September 1, 1870, three months after James' brother Samuel Bateman was elected constable. Maria was seven months pregnant.

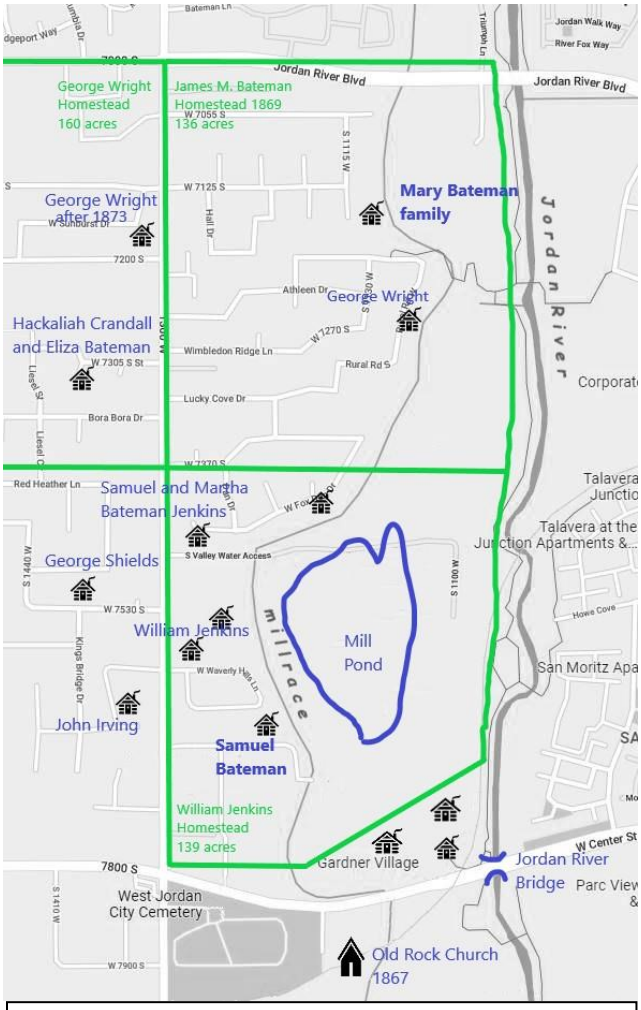
The census shows Mary Bateman as the head of household with her children James and his wife Maria, William, and Maggie living with her. By studying the histories and the sequence of their neighbors in the census it is possible to make an educated guess as to the location of the Bateman cabin. The first name in the census in West Jordan was Bishop Archibald Gardner followed by his wives, children, and the families of his married children around the mill and the families of his millworkers. The following families lived near the mill, located progressively further north from there, most if not all of them living between the rise of the bluff and the mill race where they could place their cabins against the rise of the bluff and have good access to the running water. Samuel Bateman with his seven children was the 11th household listed, suggesting that he was still living in the cabin he had built near the mill shortly after his marriage. It was located partway up a hill from the mill canal where a footbridge crossed it into the meadow and a family garden. There were nine families between his house and his mother's family.

Next came William Jenkins with a house for each of his two wives both named Eleanor, and his brother Samuel who had married Martha Bateman, Mary's second youngest daughter. Martha and Samuel had two girls—four-year-old Mary, named after her grandmother, and a three-month-old infant named Margaret, after her Aunt Maggie. William Jenkins had accompanied James in 1866 to help incoming

[267] William Lampard Watkins was born in Islington London in 1827. He was converted by Lorenzo Snow and immigrated to Nauvoo with Parley P. Pratt in 1843. He married Mary Hammond in 1844 and they eventually crossed the plains with three little girls. Maria Louisa was two years old at the time and Sophronia was born on the trail in Wyoming.

pioneers. Either he or his father (of the same name) had filed for a homestead directly south of James Bateman's.

The next family to the north was George Shields, a 42-year-old weaver from Scotland on land soon to be claimed within George Wright's homestead. He and his wife Jane had come to West Jordan directly from the wagon train that brought them to Utah in October 1853. Like Mary Bateman, Jane Shields earned money for her family as a laundress. George Shields had worked his way back into weaving from the ground up, first making a living digging canals and hauling logs, then raising sheep, carding, and spinning, and finally setting up a woolen mill next to Archibald Gardner, selling his wares in Salt Lake City. His neighbor to the north was John Irving, who had helped to build Wight's Fort and was the last resident to leave it in 1860. His cabin is said to have been located a half mile north of Gardner's mill, which was likely William Jenkins' homestead property. Next was Duncan Gardner, a nephew of Bishop Archibald Gardner, with his wife and infant daughter.



1870 Map of Gardner's Mill and approximate location of surrounding properties with modern map in the background.

The following census entry was an interesting man named Hackaliah Crandall, a miner, whose first wife died in 1861. His second wife, Elizabeth Ann Crawford was not living with him in West Jordan, but was working as a domestic servant in the house of Horace Whitney[268] in Salt Lake City. However, her three young children were living with Hackaliah in West Jordan along with Eliza Lavender Bateman, the recent widow of William Bateman, James Morgan Bateman's cousin from Cedar City, who had recently died in Cache County. She had her three young children with her and was evidently also taking care of the Crandall children.

[268] Whitney's 15-year-old son Orson was also in the household. Orson Whitney later became an apostle in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Samuel Bateman house about 1896

There was one cabin between Eliza and Mary Bateman which belonged to George Wright, who had moved with two young wives named Ruth and Odytha into a single log room "under the hill" on property later owned by the William Dimond family, who later married into the Batemans. The Wrights lived there at least until sometime between 1873 and 1876, when after irrigation became available on the higher land they built a more substantial house on the bluff known as Turpin's Hill. The same was true for Mary Bateman, James, and William, although Samuel built his final house on the hill below the bluff. The next 190 households in the 1870 census were north of present 7000 South in Bennion and Taylorsville, where the prior bishop Joseph Harker lived.

On their first wedding anniversary James and Maria had their first baby, James Alphonzo "Fonny" Bateman in Brigham City, where Maria's parents lived, likely in a much more comfortable house. They returned to West Jordan two weeks later, where Fonny was blessed by Bishop Archibald Gardner in the West Jordan Ward on New Year's Day, 1871.

James' younger brother William married Maria's sister Sophronia in the Endowment House the day after Christmas 1870. One of William's daughters[269] wrote, "Their first home was at West Jordan, under the hill near the river, a log room, which was also shared by grandmother, Mary Street Bateman." This suggests that James and Maria were no longer living there—they must have put up a cabin of their own nearby. Another of William's granddaughters[270] added, "The home they moved into was a log one and consisted of one room and a tiny attic. The furniture was homemade by William Lehi. This log room was also occupied by his mother for many years. Then another room was added for her."

There was a large-scale importation of sheep in 1870, which became a boon to the Batemans, who had previously raised them but now were able to increase the scale. Over the years, James and William divided the farm duties, with James doing more of the herding and William tending to the farm on the homestead. Sophronia made as much as 50 pounds of butter each week, which William sold in Salt Lake along with garden products such as eggs, fruit, and vegetables. They furnished produce to the city jail and supplied regular customers with farm products. Sophronia also used a spinning wheel and manufactured straw hats and stockings. The following summer they lived in a dugout on the range west of West Jordan, riding horseback to attend Sunday school and other meetings. In the winter they moved back to the log house, where they lived many years.

At the end of February 1871 Samuel Bateman took a second wife, Harriet Egbert. She moved into his house with Marinda. He served the next spring as a Salt Lake County delegate to the Republican Territorial Convention. He also served as constable and stray pound keeper for the West Jordan precinct at Gardner's Mill for many years. That year the *Deseret News* mentioned Samuel as a successful keeper

[269] Veloy Allsop KWCP-KLG.
[270] June B. Bateman Catmull KWCV-MV3.

of Italian bees, having extracted 200 pounds of honey and divided his hive several times into five strong swarms working almost entirely on rabbit brush.

Mary's last child Maggie Bateman married the operator of the new telegraph, Alfred Davis. She was living in Salt Lake with Elizabeth and Phillip Margetts at the time, having probably moved out of her mother's house when her two older brothers returned with their brides. They were married on October 12, 1872 by Judge Smith and went through the Endowment House three months later.[271]

Mary and Maggie Bateman around 1871

The following year the railroad reached the Bingham mine, leading to large scale copper extraction. Bingham Canyon had been an ideal place for herding cattle and for cutting timber since 1848 but that changed in 1863 when gold and silver were found. The Bingham and Camp Floyd branch of the Utah Central Railroad was completed, which drastically changed the mining situation at Bingham Canyon. Transportation of heavy equipment became viable, and lode mining of rich discoveries began in earnest. Mills and smelters were built, and Bingham Canyon became a prosperous mining region. James and William hauled ore out of Bingham, did freighting and logging in and out of both west and east canyons—Barneys (Oquirrh), Bingham, and Cottonwood. In 1874 the West Jordan Ward was organized as a branch of the United Order. Bishop Gardner was elected president and Samuel Bateman was elected a board member.

Elisha Vanetten, the man who caused the demise of Wight's Fort fourteen years earlier by cutting off their rights to Bingham Creek, was back to his nefarious ways defrauding several of the local sheepherders, probably including the four Bateman brothers, who were in the sheep business together. It was reported in the Salt Lake newspapers that Constable Samuel Bateman succeeded in recovering 30 percent of the sheep placed in charge of Vanetten, who had absconded. The recovered animals were divided among the owners.

There was a financial breakthrough for James and William on April 20, 1875, when they "proved up" on their 136-acre homestead, which meant that they received the title on the land from the federal government and were now able to legally sell or rent portions of the property. The certificate was issued June 4, 1874. It was the 100th land patent granted out of the Salt Lake land office and the 243rd

[271] Alfred Davis got a job with Union Pacific and became the first the first telegraph operator at Alta. After a few years he had charge for twelve years of the railroad station at Bingham Junction, the place earlier known as East Jordan and later as Midvale.

application. The two witnesses who were required for the final proof to verify their claim were their neighbor George Wright and Thomas Alsop from across the river.

Mary Elizabeth and Mary Lavender Bateman ca. 1875

Mary Lavender, the widow of Thomas Bateman (III), James Morgan's six years older brother, died in West Jordan that December at the age of 37, leaving as orphans her four children by Thomas, ages 7-13, and also a boy and a girl by her second husband. Three of the Bateman children—Mary Elizabeth, John, and Joseph--were taken in by William and Sophronia.[272] James and Maria adopted the second daughter Hattie (Harriet Alice), who was 11, and raised her. The two girls were much older than their adopted cousins and probably served well as babysitters. Sophronia and William eventually had 13 children of their own and Maria and James had 11, rendering the tiny cabins totally inadequate, so the two brothers built a long duplex log house with James and his family in the south end and William's family in the north. I am not sure of the exact location of that house, but a good clue comes from the writing of Mary Elizabeth Bateman Dimond, the oldest of the adopted children, though it is a bit ambiguous. She wrote "The piece of land in West Jordan that Uncle William and Uncle James had homesteaded and shared was under the hill later known as Turpin Hill, near the canal. On this they built a long rambling log house." I think she meant the piece of land was on the property, not on the hill, and if so it must have been very close to the cabins. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in the 1880 census they were still living close to Duncan Gardner, who was below the hill.

Mary Elizabeth wrote further, "It was a tradition to gather together here every year on the 12th of May to celebrate Mary Street Bateman's birthday. This would be an extremely large family get-together with all the Batemans participating."

Another breakthrough for Mary Bateman's family came in 1876 when the South Jordan canal was dug from Bluffdale, which allowed families to move up onto the bluff for irrigated farming. The next few years the brothers expanded their sheep and cattle holdings. Samuel, Joseph, William, and James ran sheep in the southeast foothills and bought 320 acres on the Provo River near Woodland. Their contributions in kind to the ward budget and to the temple fund are recorded in the West Jordan ward records.

[272] On September 20, 1878, William Bateman was made legal guardian over Thomas and Mary Lavender Bateman's children and bought a small part of their mother's estate, which had been overlooked by their stepfather, Frederick Nielson, and bought Mary and Harriet each 50 head of sheep and 75 for each of the boys, William and John, which gave the children a start in the business. They ran their sheep together.

The long-awaited temple in St. George was dedicated April 4, 1877, among much celebration and rejoicing. Brigham Young died in Salt Lake City that July, and was not replaced as Church President until October 10, 1880, when John Taylor was chosen to succeed him.

In March of 1879 Joseph Bateman proved up on his homestead in Alpine. That month also brought the first telephone to Utah. The first exchange between Ogden and Salt Lake opened in 1880 with 30 telephones. There were 1,200 subscribers by 1900.

The 1880 census was taken in May with the James and William Bateman families shown side by side in their duplex dwelling, the last two families recorded in West Jordan's 18 pages. The town had grown to about 900 people. James and Maria's entry showed them with six children ages 10 and under including the two-month-old twin boys named Louis and Alonzo, and their 16-year-old adopted niece, Harriet. William and Sophronia had three of their own, having lost their first child at the age of four days, plus Thomas' other three orphans ages 11-17. As in the 1870 census, their sister Martha Bateman Jenkins was living a few doors to the south with her husband and three girls ages 12, nine, and two, having lost a four and a two-year-old.

Martha later with grandchildren

Mary Bateman was not living with any of them at the time of the census. In fact, I cannot find her location that year, nor that of her son Samuel and his family, although every other source suggests they were living in West Jordan at the time. Perhaps Mary was staying with Samuel and somehow the census taker simply missed their house or the whole family was away from home.

A small, torn photograph has been posted in Mary Street Bateman's memories[273] which sheds considerable light on the duplex house built by James and William Bateman around 1876, especially when combined with the writing on the reverse of the picture, which was probably taken in 1884.

[273] Posted on *Family Search* by John W. Larson Jr. on May 12, 2015.

The writing on the back is as follows: (words in brackets are mine).

> Old log house where Phil was born. Log dirt roof, Mary Street Bateman's first house next to it. The later house of Grandmother's. Middle house, Wm. L. (William Lehi) lived. South House, James Morgan. From horse to left: John Bateman Canada (orphaned son of Thomas adopted by William), Will Bateman (William Lehi's son.) Mina (Sophronia Almina b. 1873), Mary Street Bateman (sitting in a low chair), Alf (Samuel Alfred b. 1877), Wm. L Bateman, Deseret Bateman (William's son b. 1882), Philip Bateman (Thomas Phillip b. April 16, 1875), Sophronia Bateman, Orlando Bateman (b. 1880), Lizzie Bateman (Elizabeth Bateman, daughter of Mary Street and Thomas Bateman.)

The fact that Phil was born in the log cabin partially shown on the extreme right of the photo proves that the duplex house was built sometime after his birthday in April 1876. This cabin was the "comfortable log house of 32 x 14 feet" mentioned in the homestead document in which Mary lived in 1870 with James and Maria, William, and Maggie and in which William and Sophronia lived after their marriage. As their families grew, the two boys built the small adjoining house for Mary. After the duplex was built, Mary stayed where she was, William and Sophronia inhabited the middle house, and James and Maria lived in the house at the left of the photo (in which none of James' family appears). Since James' house is on the south, the duplex must have faced to the east with the bluff behind it, with the Jordan River behind the photographer.

Mary was illiterate, consequently she created no documents to help us to understand her life, and it is difficult to find memories recorded by anyone who actually knew her personally. One who did was her son-in-law Phillip Margetts, who wrote: "(she was) one of the most self-sacrificing, patient, motherly women it was ever my good fortune to become acquainted with."

Perhaps the family history writer who spent the most personal time with Mary was Mary Elizabeth, the oldest child of Mary's son Thomas, who as mentioned earlier, had boarded with William's family and Mary to attend grade school around 1862. She was adopted by them when she was orphaned at the age of 13 and was 29 when her grandmother died. She wrote, "Mary Street Bateman was always known for her dependability and law-abiding sense of justice."

Mary Street Bateman

Another granddaughter who left written memories was Juliaetta Bateman Jensen, the youngest child of Samuel and Marinda. Juliaetta's memories[274] of Mary probably began around 1882 at the age of four.

[274] Juliaetta Bateman Jensen, *Little Gold Pieces*, 1948, pp. 37-37

They lived close together until Mary's death when Juliaetta was approaching 13 years old. Juliaetta wrote,

> I recall that Grandmother Bateman was a very small woman, and very thin, and yet her husband and sons were six feet in height and over. Life for her was stern and hard and as a child I felt that she was harsh and severe. I was afraid of her because she often spoke so sharply with that English tongue of hers… Truly I never ran to greet her as I did my Grandmother Allen. Then I hear my brothers, sisters, and cousins say, "That is not fair. You were too young to understand her fine qualities and the greatness of her soul. She had worked hard and reared her family in honesty, integrity, and faith." Now I know that is true, but I didn't know it then, and I am sorry that someone did not help me overcome my fear of her. She made a great fuss of Father, whom she called Sam'l. (My) sister Mary said she remembered her coming across the meadows nearly every Sunday to have dinner with him when he was at home. She came sometimes when he was not there. She liked Mother (Marinda), who was so quiet and reserved, just her opposite. Grandmother Bateman lived so near the other two sons, James and William, that she saw them every day. That is probably the reason she spent so many Sundays at our home.

Another granddaughter to describe Mary was Cora Bateman Garner, the youngest daughter of Samuel's second wife, Harriet. Cora was only 10 days old when Mary died, so the following was obviously second-hand knowledge, but informative.[275] She wrote:

> Mary became a practicing midwife. Regardless of her smallness she thought nothing of walking from West Jordan to Sandy, a distance of more than six miles to care for one of her patients. It was said that when Harriet, her first child, was only six months old that she and Harriet together weighted but ninety-six pounds… She was happy when she was helping and doing good for others and many and countless were her friends, their love lasting through to her last days. Her religion always came first, and she was prompt in attending her meetings, feeling embarrassed to be late for church. She had a certain place to sit. Everyone respected her, and her place was never taken because they all knew that unless sickness prevented, she would be there… She showed little fear… (Once she) saw a big Indian standing just inside the door. She was startled but knew she must not show fear; she asked him what he wanted. He told her "Me want 'suker' (sugar)." She started toward him and said, "You can't have any sugar and now, sir, you get out of here." The Indian laughed and said, "You no afraid, you heap brave little squaw." It was true, she was brave and dependable. When she gave her promise she never failed to keep it… She loved her native country England. No one would dare to speak against Queen Victoria or her beloved England. Certainly, she was loved and honored by all in spite of the fact that she was very outspoken and said what she had to say, regardless of whom or to whom she was talking.

I wish I had more first-hand information, but there is much more that could be said of her by inference. Of course, her most obvious traits must have stemmed from her experiences as a working-class woman in 19th century England, an early Mormon convert and pioneer, her stifling poverty, and the challenges of feeding and raising a dozen children. And then there is the grief and disappointment of losing her husband Thomas after two years of uncertainty, her lack of financial support from him, and her empathy

[275] It is linked to Mary's memories in *Family Search*. LBSC-LJF.

for his own disappointment and ostracism. The untimely loss of her husband was just one of many. She experienced the deaths of five of her children and 24 of her grandchildren.

There was something troubling her. Only three of her children had been born in the covenant: Martha, Maggie, and John,[276] who were born after her sealing to Thomas in the Nauvoo Temple. All the rest were born before then and were therefore not sealed for eternity to her and Thomas. Furthermore, since Thomas had been cut off from the Church, was their eternal union also in jeopardy? One could say that the Spirit of Elijah, which had once obsessed her late husband, was now moving her.

There had been no sealing of children to parents during the first three decades of Mormon life in Utah, as Brigham Young had taught that it could not be done except in a temple.[277] Temporary locations such as the Endowment House in Salt Lake City had provided for endowments and eternal marriage covenants, which made sealing of subsequent children unnecessary, but according to Mormon doctrine, children born before or outside of the celestial marriage would not be with their parents in eternity. In the new St. George Temple these ordinances were now being done, and there were also many "adoptions" or sealing of adults to unrelated highly respected people such as to Joseph Smith or other deceased Church leaders.

Mary's concerns were undoubtedly heighted by the dedication by President John Taylor of the Logan Temple on May 17, 1884, which was geographically much more accessible than St. George to most Mormons and was generating great excitement.

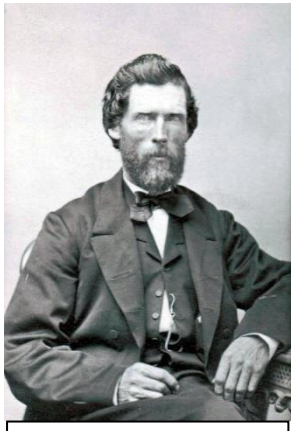
Sharing Mary's concerns, many descendants of Mary and Thomas Bateman have taken comfort from the popular biography of President John Taylor,[278] which recounts a conversation between the Prophet and their son Samuel regarding Thomas Bateman's possible re-instatement in the Church. Samuel Bateman was one of John Taylor's bodyguards during his "exile," when he fled into hiding in February 1885 to escape the federal marshals trying to arrest him for polygamy. According to the book, the following conversation took place on a secret trip to Southern Utah which would take several weeks.

> Sam Bateman was driving, and…glanced sideways at Taylor, seemed about to speak, then turned away. Taylor asked if there was something he wanted to say.
>
> Yes, it was about his father, Bateman said. His mother was now seventy-five, without much time left here, and she wondered if things could be straightened out. Did President Taylor remember his father?
>
> Very well, Taylor said… Tom had driven the missionaries in his wagon from Council Bluffs to St. Louis.
>
> A few months after arriving in Utah the following year, Sam Bateman said, his father had an argument with Church authorities, and was cut off in public meeting. The shock was more than he could stand; he was never the same after that. Tom Bateman went to England to dispose of property there. During the return voyage, the strain of his excommunication preyed on him until he had a nervous breakdown and had to be restrained for several days. He seemingly

[276] John was sealed in the Salt Lake Temple to his parents February 28, 1894, which raises the possibility that he had actually been born before his parents' temple sealing. He died in Augusta on November 29, 1846.
[277] Jonathan A. Stapley, *Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism*, Journal of Mormon History, Vo. 37. No. 2. p. 88.
[278] Samuel W. Taylor, *The Kingdom or Nothing*, Macmillan Publishing, New York, 1976.

> recovered, but shortly after being released a storm blew up and he leaped overboard. A boat was put out, but the body was never found.
>
> Taylor said that Thomas Bateman shouldn't be judged harshly: he wasn't in his right mind. Sam nodded and slapped a line on the rumps of the team. Brother Brigham had said the same thing, that his father wasn't responsible, and the time would come when things would be righted… Could her husband be restored to his priesthood and blessings, and his children sealed to him?
>
> Yes, indeed, Taylor said. He'd see to it.
>
> Bateman's face bloomed with joy. He'd been relieved of a heavy load that he'd carried for many years.

Frankly, this passage relieved me as well—after all, I am a third great grandson of Thomas and Mary. But this story was written at least 80 years after the conversation was to have taken place, by a grandson who was born 20 years after John Taylor's death.[279] He could have had no personal knowledge of the alleged conversation and clearly exercised "poetic license" in the writing of it. And the author, who was also a screenwriter, had published many novels. Certainly, the story is plausible—Samuel was with John Taylor frequently during the exile and was present at the Prophet's death--but is it reliable? And did President Taylor act on the request? If so, did it happen before Mary's death?



Joseph E. Taylor

The author provided a footnote to the story, which helped me to locate his source in the John Taylor Letter File in the special collections of the University of Utah Marriott Library. The anecdote was based on a letter written on August 11, 1885 by Joseph E. Taylor,[280] a counselor to the Salt Lake City stake president, Angus Cannon, who at the time was serving a six-month term in prison for cohabitation. In the absence of Cannon, Brother Taylor was carrying out Church business. It appears that the question of Thomas' excommunication and the matter of sealing went from Samuel to the Prophet-in-hiding through the stake presidency, and possibly first through his bishop, Archibald Gardner. The wonderful interview on the wagon heading south is fictional. Evidently Samuel's close relationship to the president concerned only security, not so much spiritual matters.

In the August letter Joseph E. Taylor recited the facts of the case much as they were described in the biography, but with a few additions. He added:

> Being successful in this (the disposal of property in England) he desired some of his family to return and join him there. After repeated solicitations, they being as often refused, he started back with results of the sale of his property.
>
> During the life of Patriarch John Young, he talked with his brother President Brigham Young upon this subject and his reply was as stated by Samuel Bateman, "The time will come when

[279] Samuel Taylor, the author, was the seventh son of John Whittaker Taylor by the third of six wives. His father's mother was the twelfth of President John Taylor's 16 wives.

[280] Joseph Taylor was not related to John Taylor. In addition to his position in the stake presidency he was a member of the Utah House of Representatives and was the sexton, running the leading mortuary in the city.

> some of Father Bateman's friends will find him and put him into the place which he belongs, for he was not responsible, not having been in his right mind, and tell Samuel not to worry over it." Sister Bateman is anxious to know from you if anything can be done for him here. If there is, she is desirous of having it attended to before she dies.

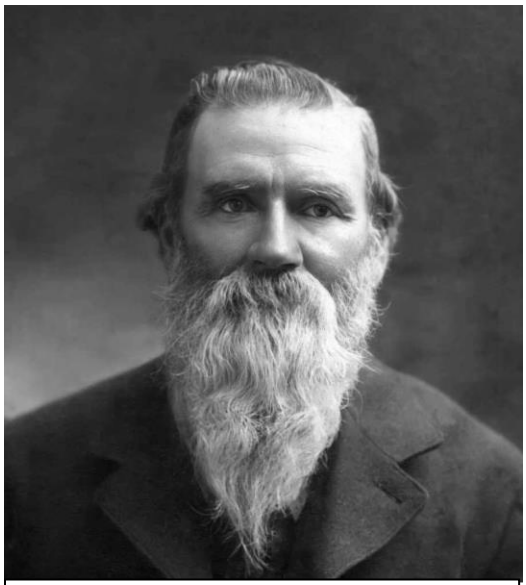
I could find no evidence that President Taylor acted on the request--it may have been impossible to do so in his position. There was a second letter from Joseph E. Taylor in the president's file, which was dated September 12 and shows that the matter had not yet been settled.

> Dear Brother,
>
> In view of the uncertainty in regard to the status of Samuel Bateman's father, and he not desirous to take any step in relation to his own adoption until his father's case is decided, he now wishes to know if he can have the privilege of having four of his oldest children adopted to him as they are desirous of going next week in company with Bishop Gardner and family to Logan. Your answer to this will greatly oblige him. Your Brother &c., J. E. T.

The Logan Temple had been dedicated nearly four months earlier. I do not know whether Samuel and Bishop Gardner made the trip the following week as planned, but Samuel's children were not sealed to him at that time.[281] The matter of his father had still not been addressed. It was complicated, since not only had Thomas been cut off from the Church, but it was also the Church's policy until October 1893 to exclude people who had committed suicide from proxy temple work.[282]

While protecting the prophet, Samuel Bateman was also a target of the deputies since he was a polygamist himself. He wrote a long letter and special poem to his mother Mary from his own hiding place for her birthday on May 5, 1886.[283] It included the following:

> …May the blessings of God rest upon you my Dear Mother, and as it says in your blessing, if I remember right, may your last days be the happiest, and may you live to see many years and to see your posterity increase and become numerous in the land if it is the Lord's will. This is the constant prayer of your Loving son in Exile, Samuel Bateman



Samuel Bateman around 1885

President John Taylor died July 25, 1887, attended by Samuel and his other bodyguards. Samuel helped to wash the body, sent for Joseph E. Taylor, the sexton, and could not sleep that night. He recorded in his journal that 18-

[281] Samuel and Marinda were married in West Jordan on November 27, 1854 but were not sealed in the Endowment House until March 2, 1861, so their first four children were not "born in the covenant." They were eventually sealed to him on November 30, 1887.
[282] Jonathan A. Stapley, *Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism*, Journal of Mormon History, Vol. 37. No. 2. p. 107.
[283] Sources give her birthday variously as May or March 12, 1809.

20,000 people attended the funeral and the procession which included 100 carriages and seven bands for music.

Temple records show that Thomas Bateman was baptized by proxy in the Logan Temple on November 29, 1887. He also had his initiatory work done that day, although he had been endowed in Nauvoo. This suggests to me that he had finally been reinstated in the Church. I like to imagine that Mary and the rest of the family were there to witness it. Samuel was definitely in attendance, and likely stood in proxy for his father, for on the following day three of Samuel and Marinda's children were sealed to them in the Logan Temple: Samuel Allen, who had died as an infant in 1856, Daniel, born in 1857, and Marinda, born in 1860. Joseph Thomas Bateman was living in Alpine but was not with them.[284] The rest of their children had been born in the covenant.

But there were no children sealed to Thomas and Mary Bateman at that time.

The following May the Manti temple was dedicated. Around November 1888 Samuel Bateman was tried for polygamy and sentenced to the penitentiary. He served 85 days and paid a fine of $75. In May 1890 Mary Street Bateman's son Joseph Bateman died at the age of 53 in Alpine, the fifth of her children to precede her in death.

In 1891 William and James finally left their duplex log house, which had been filled to the maximum and built fine brick houses up on the bluff near the road to Taylorsville. The brickmakers were finally living in brick houses.

William Lehi Bateman and family 1897

On March 4, 1891 Mary Street Bateman died quietly of pneumonia at the brick home of her youngest son, William, at the age of 81. Her granddaughter Cora wrote of Mary, "Her desire in life was that when her time came to go that she wouldn't be a burden to anyone. This wish was granted as she was ill but one week." She was buried in the West Jordan Cemetery, survived by seven of her 12 children, 97 grandchildren, and 67 great grandchildren.

Mary did not live to see the celebrated dedication of the Salt Lake Temple in April 1893. At conference that fall the governing quorums affirmed a decision that allowed people who had committed suicide to receive proxy temple work—an exception must have previously been made for Thomas Bateman. Mary did not live to see her older children sealed to her and Thomas. It finally happened on the last day of February 1894.[285]

[284] Joseph Thomas Bateman was sealed to Samuel and Marinda by proxy in 1977.

[285] Samuel Bateman, Harriet, Elizabeth, James, William, and John (the infant who had died in Nauvoo) were present to be sealed to their parents for eternity. According to temple records, Joseph was also sealed to them that day, evidently by proxy since he had died a four years earlier. (The sealing was not necessary for Martha and

In a meeting with his counselors and the Twelve prior to general conference that April in 1894, President Wilford Woodruff said:

> I have felt we are too strict in regard to some of our temple ordinances. This is especially the case in regard to husbands and parents who are dead. Heretofore we have not permitted wives to be sealed to their dead husbands unless such husbands were in the Church, nor have we permitted children to be sealed to dead unbaptized parents. This is wrong I feel…. The Lord has told me that it is right for children to be sealed to their parents, and they to their parents just as far back as we can possibly obtain the records.[286]

President George Q. Cannon responded that he was "…thankful for what has been revealed. This matter has weighed for a long time on my mind."[287] Through the inspiration of President Wilford Woodruff, restrictions based on probable worthiness were thereafter abandoned and the sealings of families through all generations became the main focus of temple work.

> *Thomas Bateman: … Elijah the Prophet has made his appearance. You will see his works. I can see them, and they suited me.*
>
> *Brigham Young: … When Elijah the Prophet makes his appearance, we will commence a work. I feel to ask Tom Bateman what the work of Elijah the Prophet will be.*
>
> *Thomas Bateman: To turn the hearts of the children to their parents.*

Margaret who had been born in the covenant.) Thomas, who had died in 1868 seems to have been somehow overlooked and was sealed to them by proxy December 10, 1980.

[286] Stapley, p. 108.

[287] Ibid.

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